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**SELECTED DETERMINANTS OF THE HIRING POLICY
OF EMPLOYERS RELATIVE TO BUSINESSES IN
FIVE COUNTIES OF SOUTH DAKOTA**

BY

DON MARTIN

**A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Doctor of Philosophy, Major in
Rural Sociology, South Dakota
State University**

1971

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**SELECTED DETERMINANTS OF THE HIRING POLICY
OF EMPLOYERS RELATIVE TO BUSINESSES IN
FIVE COUNTIES OF SOUTH DAKOTA**

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Advisor

Date

Head, Sociology Department

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was the result of interaction with many individuals who helped shape my interests, ideas, and abilities during the course of my graduate education at Brookings, South Dakota. Many highly competent scholars and researchers have helped in its formulation. Special recognition is due the thesis advisor and chairman of the doctoral committee, Dr. Robert M. Dimit, for his help, advice and sustained interest which far anteceded the inception of this dissertation. To Professor Howard M. Sauer, member of the committee, Head of the Rural Sociology Department, and my major advisor throughout much of my graduate studies, thanks are expressed for help and guidance far beyond the obligations and duties of his office. I feel inadequate, despite his tutelage, to fully express my sincere thanks for the professional and personal stimulation. I would be remiss if I neglected to mention Dr. Marvin P. Riley who had a very profound effect on this student. To Dr. Orville Schmieding who confronted me with an entirely different philosophy of education and played an important role in the formation of my attitudes toward the students I serve. To Professor Walter J. McCarty, member of the committee, for his enduring patience and professional competence.

The staff of the Inter-Lakes Community Action Program and their Director of Economic Development, Mr. Paul J. Hildebrandt, served as a very helpful resource and were of inestimable value. Gratitude is

expressed to them and to the interviewers for the collection of the data.

A major impact of writing this dissertation was the disruption of family life. My sons, Norman, Mark, and Michael, recognized the work demands their father was facing and gave up many of their plans. My wife, Laura, consistently demonstrated amazing degrees of understanding. Without her support and reinforcement, it would be impossible to determine when this dissertation would have been completed, if ever.

DM

Summary of the Investigation

The universe of this study consisted of employers in a firm. A total of 1,131 businesses were

ABSTRACT

Description of the Problem

For nearly everyone in our society, remunerative work has provided a meaningful role. It also provided an avenue for the attainment of respect, dignity, and the essentials of the "good life." On the other hand, unemployment has necessitated reliance on programs for the indigent and unemployed.

The central focus of this study was the Janus-headed problem of unemployment and underemployment. The approach was oriented to a level of organization which has not previously been adequately explored. Unlike most of the studies which have attempted to meliorate the exigencies of unemployment, this study focused on the needs and attitudes of the employers since it is they who ultimately provide jobs. A four pronged approach was used which explored: (1) the characteristics of employers; (2) characteristics of the businesses; (3) the determination of differences between selected characteristics of the employers and their hiring policy; and, (4) the determination of differences between the businesses and the hiring policy of the employer. Role Theory provided the framework for analysis.

Summary of the Investigation

The universe of this study consisted of employers in a five-county area of South Dakota. A total of 1,121 businessmen were

interviewed in order to assess: (1) selected characteristics of employers; (2) selected characteristics of the firms; (3) information on the attitudes of the respondents toward their hiring practices relevant to particular groups of people and; (4) the perceived needs of the employer.

Farming businesses, except for trucking, were not included in the investigation. "Business" included any social organization that provides a service, sells a product, produces a product or any other enterprise that employs people. Only those employers whose businesses were located within city limits were selected for respondents. "Employer" was used to refer to the social actor whose role expectations include the hiring of employees.

Chi-square tests were done in order to determine if there were any statistically significant differences between selected characteristics of the employer or their businesses and hiring policy. This allowed for the testing of the research hypotheses which were oriented toward the determination of the influence of a social actor's role in his hiring policy.

Conclusions

In addition to an analysis of selected characteristics of both the employers and the businesses this study found that employers place more emphasis on traits such as neatness and honesty than on job experience, ethnicity, or educational attainment. This occurred

irrespective of the employer's age, sex, or place of residence. Neither was it dependent upon the size of the firm or the type of business.

Neither age-role nor sex-role exerted complete influence on the hiring policy of the employer. Instead, both were subservient to the employer-role. Attitudes which arose as a result of a social actor's various roles were not general. Age and sex did not exert undue influence in all areas of the individual's life. An individual's social role may be important in the formation of his attitudes, but extreme care must be exercised when indicating that any one specific role determines attitudes in general.

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gather and interpret data relevant to the problem under consideration. This study was designed to provide such insights into selected aspects of employer-employee relations in the area served by the Inter-lake Community Action Program.

Providing jobs for low income people was an important task of the Community Action Program. The role of these agencies in manpower development programs was taking on an increasing significance since this was essentially a local problem which could best be handled by local institutions. Also, income security action programs could provide such supporting services as health and legal services. Moreover, the need for employment was a great deal depending upon the particular locale.

With this in mind, in December of 1970 the staff of Inter-lake Community Action Program decided that comprehensive information on all of the businesses of the 115-county area served by the program

See Appendix 1, C-2, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C., pp. 10-12.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

One of the basic prerequisites in any effort to gain insights into the methods of improving human relations was to systematically gather and interpret data relevant to the problem under consideration. This study was designed to provide such insights into selected aspects of employer-employee relations in the area served by the Inter-Lakes Community Action Program.

Providing jobs for low income people was an important task of the Community Action Programs. The role of these agencies in manpower retraining programs was taking on an increasing significance since this was essentially a local problem which could best be handled by local institutions. Also, because Community Action Programs could provide such supporting services as health and legal services. Moreover, the needs of employers may vary a great deal depending upon their geographic locale.¹

With this in mind, in December of 1969 the staff of Inter-Lakes Community Action Program realized that comprehensive information on all of the businesses of the five-county area served by the program

¹CAP Pamphlet C/CA-2, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C., pp. 10-12.

was essential to their goal of reducing underemployment. Consequently, in conjunction with the Rural Sociology Department of South Dakota State University at Brookings, a survey was conducted during January, 1970. This dissertation is a presentation of the results of the survey coupled with a framework for both understanding and action.

Introduction

In South Dakota there has been an emphasis upon attracting new industry. It was believed that industrial development and the subsequent employment it could provide would have a variety of beneficial effects.

Meanwhile, relatively little was being done to determine the needs of employers who were providing jobs for the people of South Dakota. Even less was being done to understand the problems which face employees who are underemployed or the unemployed.

The lack of adequate employment as a form of economic opportunity was a serious problem in the rural community. Increased specialization of function in production, coupled with labor saving mechanization have reduced agriculturally related employment. At the same time, expansion of the aggregate economy has moved toward metropolitan areas. The result has been a reduction of employment opportunities in rural areas. Although nonfarm related employment furnishes numerous jobs, it was wholly inadequate in absorbing all of the people who need jobs.

The lack of economic opportunity in rural areas was brought into bold relief when relative income was examined. Rural family income in the United States, both farm and nonfarm, was substantially lower than in metropolitan areas. "In 1964, median family income was: farm, \$3,414; nonmetropolitan nonfarm, \$5,542; metropolitan central cities, \$6,697; and metropolitan outside central cities, \$7,772."²

The extent of rural poverty also reveals another important dimension of the rural income problem. While one-third of the poverty in the United States was rural only 22 per cent of the population lived in rural areas. Technological changes in farm employment have caused unskilled labor to become highly irrelevant in the present farm related occupational structure.

Positive steps have been taken to raise the quality of vocational training in rural areas in recent years, but many rural-urban gaps remain. Vocational education in rural areas frequently emphasized agricultural production while little employment opportunity existed in that area. Then, too, rural employees were not being reached by manpower training and development programs. Efforts are presently being directed almost solely at employment within the metropolitan areas.³

²A Joint Task Force of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, A National Program of Research for Rural Development and Family Living (Washington, D.C., November 1968), p. 10.

³Ibid., p. 11.

The present need is to focus research on rural areas to gain an understanding of what steps need to be taken in order to initiate programs which will provide economic opportunity for the rural resident. Some inroads have been made by private attempts to deal with the problems of displacement and unemployment. Funds to help workers displaced by automation have been established by both labor and management. These funds were fostered by changes in equipment, methods, or plants which resulted in greater output per man-hour. The United Mine Workers, American Federation of Musicians, The International Ladies Garment Workers, the West Coast Longshoremen, among others, have initiated programs to deal with change of a technological nature. Yet, only the garment workers, meatpackers, and musicians provided benefits for workers who have been displaced by machination.⁴

On the national level, the Federal government has taken action to create additional employment opportunities. The Kennedy administration sought to stimulate the economy by the liberalization of depreciation regulations, the Trade Expansion Act, the 1961 housing legislation and the Public Works Acceleration Act. In 1964 a tax cut was passed.

In addition, there are two programs which have been developed to counteract employment problems which are a result of deficiencies in the economic structure. These programs are the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961. The latter was specifically oriented toward areas with a high rate of unemployment. The former act was considerably broader in scope.

⁴Thomas Kennedy, Automation Funds and Displaced Workers (Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1962).

Neither the Area Redevelopment Act nor the Manpower Development and Training Act were the first laws enacted to alleviate problems of the nation's work force. Raising the level of the work forces' knowledge and training, it has been contended, has been part of the tradition of America since its founding as a Republic. This was shown by the following excerpt from a U. S. Labor Department Report:

From its first beginning the American national government has followed policies designed to raise the level of education and training in the nation, and to ensure that it should be available to all citizens. The Continental Congress, by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided funds from land sales to support a system of free public education. During the Civil War the system of land grant colleges was begun that has since produced some of our mightiest universities and an incomparable network of institutions of higher learning. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 established Federal support for vocational education. The vast program of educational assistance for veterans which followed World War II enormously influenced the levels of education and skill of the postwar American work force. More recently, the National Science Foundation Act and the National Defense Education Act have further contributed to educational development.⁵

The Manpower Development and Training Act and The Area Redevelopment Act, however, were based on a different philosophy than the earlier legislation. While Federal manpower programs developed during the thirties were a response to mass unemployment hence stressed relief, the more recent programs attempt to provide rehabilitation measures

⁵U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, 1963, p. XII.

which would equip the victims of unemployment for productive labors.⁶

The Manpower Development and Training Act

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was a wider application of the training provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act.

Title II of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 dealt with training programs. It assigned to the Secretary of Labor the responsibility for promoting training programs which included on-the-job training for those who were unable to secure gainful employment without training.⁷

After one year the Manpower Development and Training Act was amended by Congress. These changes became law during December of 1963. Changes were more oriented toward aiding the hardcore unemployed and unemployed youths. The amendments also postponed the time which states would have to match the federal funds.

The changes also allowed for training in the basic skills of reading and writing in order to counter the problems caused by illiteracy. Subsequent changes provided for an additional 20 weeks of training allowance for trainees receiving both literacy and occupational training.

⁶Sar A. Levitan, Federal Manpower Policies and Programs to Combat Unemployment (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1964), pp. 4-5.

⁷U.S. Congress, Manpower Development and Training Act, Public Law 415, 87th Congress, Second Session, 1962, pp. 11-8.

The Area Redevelopment Act

The forerunner to the Manpower Development and Training Act, summarized above, was the Area Redevelopment Act which became law as of May 1, 1961. This act was designed to alleviate conditions of persistent unemployment and underemployment in areas of distress. It includes: provisions for federal loans to business; grants for the purpose of establishing and revitalizing public facilities in order to enhance the commercial value of the area; and finally provisions for manpower retraining.⁸

State and local programs have been established to retrain displaced workers. These programs were closely examined before federal legislation was enacted.⁹

Only the community can initiate the Area Redevelopment Act. The first step, by the local unit, is to submit an overall program of economic development. This is both a statement of needs and a program for economic improvement. The community must also be declared a redevelopment area. Determination of a redevelopment area is based on the average rates of unemployment over an extended period of time.

⁸Sar A. Levitan, Federal Aid to Depressed Areas (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1964).

⁹U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, A Survey of Training Programs Pursuant to the Passage of MDTA, 87th Congress, First Session, 1961, pp. 30-141.

After an overall economic development program is prepared, it is reviewed by the appropriate state agency. If the plan is approved, it is forwarded to the Area Redevelopment Administrator in the Department of Commerce.¹⁰

The Area Redevelopment Act allows for the payment of subsistence benefits based on the average weekly unemployment compensation within the state, but cannot be paid for more than a period of 16 weeks. The Act provides for financing in order to determine training needs, for the selection of the unemployed and to provide the services for the actual training.

The two laws, summarized above, provide the foundation for the retraining of unemployed and underemployed workers. But, it is clear that retraining does not create jobs. Retraining can accomplish little other than the expenditure of money if there are no jobs which require the skill the trainee has been trained for. Then, too, if the employer is not favorably disposed to hiring retrained personnel the program will have little positive effect.

There has been little systematic research on employer attitudes toward government retraining. Research which has been undertaken indicates that employers have ambivalent feelings toward both pieces

¹⁰ A more intensive account of what constitutes a redevelopment area can be found in Occupational Training and Retraining Under the Area Redevelopment Act, U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1961).

of legislation. Employers feared that the legislation would promote the practice of one state enticing industry away from another state.¹¹

Another objection reflected a laissez faire philosophy on the part of the employers in reference to government intervention. These employers felt that area underemployment and development was the problem of that particular region, and that private industry along with local and state government would be best equipped to start remedial action, not the federal government.¹²

The United States Chamber of Commerce opposed the Area Redevelopment Act on a number of grounds. It believed that lowering the age limit on the youth training allowance could encourage many students to end their education immediately upon reaching the compulsory school attendance age as set forth by state statute.¹³ They also opposed extending training periods beyond 52 weeks; the establishment of a basic education program on the federal level; increasing federal expenditures for the Act; and the elimination of the 50 per cent matching requirements for the final year.¹⁴ In sum, they took a position which showed they believed manpower development and retraining to be

¹¹Daily Labor Report, Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, D.C., April 10, 1963.

¹²U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Hearings on Area Redevelopment Act, 87th Congress, 1961, p. 196.

¹³U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 88th Congress, 1963, p. 145.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 113.

the responsibility of states so that programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act would substantially eliminate the role of federal financing and control.¹⁵ A goodly amount of the criticism by the United States Chamber of Commerce was based on a lack of information.¹⁶

In spite of all the criticisms of both Acts made by the Chamber, some individual members of industry supported governmental retraining. In testimony before a congressional committee the Director of Education for IBM pledged full support to the Manpower Development and Training Act. He insisted that the lack of an adequate supply of educated and skilled workers "slows down the whole rate of technological advance,"¹⁷ and that this lack has caused an imbalance for a number of years.

In a statement which represents the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Chamber of Commerce, its president said the chamber believed that retraining the "unemployed in skills that are salable on the present and future labor market is a community, state, and national responsibility."¹⁸

The Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce saw the Manpower Development and Training Act as welcome in their own efforts to bring forth

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Daily Labor Report, August 20, 1969, p. 12.

¹⁷Daily Labor Report, August 7, 1969, p. 4.

¹⁸U.S. Congress, House Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, Manpower Development and Training Act, 88th Congress, 1963, p. 255.

desirable changes in their community. They contended that because many of the trainees find employment in other states the cost should be borne by the national community. They further argued that areas with disproportionately high rates of unemployment cannot finance such programs.

In spite of the aforementioned criticisms these laws have been implemented in many states.

The president of the Pittsburgh Chamber said:

Obviously, if certain persons cannot be trained in a valuable occupational skill because they lack basic functional education necessary for this training, they should be given the opportunity of becoming worthwhile citizens and assets to the community and, if necessary, with the assistance of the community. It is a good national investment.¹⁹

The Two Types of Training Available

There are basically two forms of training possible under retraining legislation: (1) retraining done in vocational schools and, (2) on-the-job training. Under the Area Redevelopment Act nearly all of the retraining is done in vocational schools. The same is true for retraining sponsored by the Manpower Development Act.

On-the-job training--When compared to the number of vocational trainees, the number of people currently completing on-the-job training is relatively limited. The advantages of on-the-job training were pointed out in a Congressional report:

¹⁹Ibid., p. 584.

Training on the job has the advantage of furnishing employment, income, experience in the workplace, and the availability of equipment and instruction. It has added the advantage of direct attachment to the source of labor demand existing at or before the commencement rather than after the completion of the training. Actually, the amount of training given on the job exceeds all other forms of training. Even the college graduate receives his specialized skills, in effect, on the job, as either the medical student or the U. S. Senator can testify.²⁰

This report shows that while costs for on-the-job training programs are borne almost entirely by the employer, vocational education is supported almost entirely by the public.²¹

The same committee reported that governmental agencies and contractors were no more eager to support a system of apprenticeships and on-the-job training than other employers. It recommended that "all government agencies employing the types of skills which can be developed through apprenticeships and on-the-job training undertake such training."²² The report concludes with suggestions for providing training allowances and tax credit to offset training costs for the trainee.²³

Vocational training--Employers' views on vocational education are important since the majority of retrained workers are products of this

²⁰U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Toward Full Employment: Proposals for a Comprehensive Employment and Manpower Policy in the United States, 88th Congress, 1964, p. 84.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

type of training. Employers hold different views regarding this training.

One such view, expressed by a major executive of the Eastman Kodak Company, indicated that it is difficult for vocational schools to reorganize courses rapidly enough to meet technological changes.²⁴

An extensive study of the schools in South Dakota yielded a significantly different view. Erwin Turner found that employers rated the success of the graduates of South Dakota schools "as better than that of beginning workers normally employed."²⁵ Employers, in South Dakota, rated the skill, the related information, the general education, and the personality of the graduates as better than that of most beginning workers. But, there was no meaningful correlation found between: the employers' ratings of personality and teacher opinion of personality; employers' ratings in skill and grades in course; or between success on the job and size of firm, I.Q., or age when first employed.²⁶

Statement of Problem and Objectives

A study of the hiring policy of employers coupled with knowledge about their businesses provided an opportunity to gain insights into

²⁴Senate Subcommittee, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Training and Utilization of Manpower Resources, 1960.

²⁵Erwin Turner, "A Survey of Employer Opinion of the Adequacy of Trade and Industrial Training in Selected Schools of South Dakota" (Unpublished D.E.D. Thesis, Graduate School, Colorado State College, Greeley, Colorado, 1958), p. iv.

²⁶Ibid., p. v.

factors associated with underemployment and unemployment. The problems which led to this research included: (1) unemployment and underemployment due to lack of training; (2) unemployment and underemployment due to lack of jobs; and (3) lack of information relative to the attitude of employers toward hiring various categories of job-seekers.

The basis of training programs for the unemployed, as well as the underemployed, has been provided in The Area Redevelopment Act and The Manpower Development and Training Act. The development of training programs for people of similar circumstances rests upon the willingness of employers to provide such opportunities. There is obviously a need for the collection of information regarding factors which exercise an influence on employers' hiring practices. This research deals with the problem of the influence of selected characteristics of employers and their businesses upon employers' attitudes and hiring policies.

Specifically the major objectives of this study are:

- (1) To determine selected characteristics of those who have control of or access to the resources for employment in a five-county area of South Dakota.
- (2) To determine the characteristics of possible places of employment.
- (3) To gather information on the employer's employment policies.
- (4) An analysis to determine if any statistically significant differences exist between the characteristics of employers, characteristics of businesses, and hiring practices.
- (5) To provide information to the Inter-Lakes Community Action Program for use in developing retraining programs in the survey area.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Despite the fact that there is considerable information in the literature relevant to underemployment and unemployment, there has been little attention paid to factors directly involving the employer. The majority of the research is oriented toward improving the plight of the worker without reference to the role of his employer. Conceivably, crucial factors in unemployment have been overlooked. These factors are the needs and desires of employers.

This section of the study will be devoted to reviewing the literature specifically oriented toward the employers' needs and attitudes. It will also set forth the theoretical framework within which the data will be analyzed.

Related Literature

Among the factors relating to the occupational success of the mental retardate is the employer's attitude. As reported by Gleason, it is a highly critical factor in the employer's acceptance of the retarded as an employee.¹ In a study which lends support to this contention, Lavos examined the reports of people responsible for the

¹ Clyde Gleason, "The Placement Problem," Proceedings, Institute on Placement (San Francisco: San Francisco State College, 1969).

placement of handicapped people attempting to find work. He found that objections to the hiring of the disabled were often made without consideration of his capabilities on the job. Instead, the objections were usually made on personal aversions and misconceptions. Lavos indicates that each person should be considered as an individual and be evaluated as such, to utilize his maximum potential, without regard to physical appearance.²

Barton et al showed that employers frequently held favorable attitudes toward handicapped job-seekers. Their study showed:

Many of the employers (40%) volunteered the comment that they have had or are having favorable experience with handicapped workers.³

Business size does not appear to exert a great deal of influence on the favorability of employers' attitudes toward hiring specific categories of people. For example, about equal categories of favorable attitudes toward hiring former mental patients were reported by employers in both small and large concerns.⁴

²George Lavos, "Unfounded Objections to Hiring the Handicapped," Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. VII (July 1943), pp. 191-197.

³Everett H. Barton, Arthur P. Coladarci and Karl E. Carlson, "The Employability and Job-Seeking Behavior of the Physically Handicapped," Employers' Views, Dickenson (New York: 1952), p. 763.

⁴Uytrutas J. Bieliaushas and Harvey E. Wolfe, "The Attitudes of Industrial Employers Toward Hiring of Former State Mental Hospital Patients," Journal of Clinical Psychology, VXVI (July 1960), pp. 256-259.

Cohen sought to test the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between the attitude of hiring certain categories of people and the employer's "(1) years of schooling, (2) realistic concept of the mentally retarded, and (3) type of vocational contact."⁵ In general the hypotheses were not supported. Thus, it cannot be maintained that a positive relationship exists between attitude and realistic concepts, education, or vocational contact. Cohen did find, however, a significant negative relationship between an employer's attitudes and education. He also found a trend toward the predicted direction between attitude and vocational contact.⁶

In an investigation to obtain information relative to the circumstances surrounding the employment of office workers in the Oklahoma City area Reed looked at: the available opportunities for beginning workers; the basic education requirements; and the means by which employees are selected.⁷ According to Reed graduation from high school was one of the primary qualifications imposed by employers on

⁵Julius Soloman, "A Study of Attitudes of Selected Employers Toward Hiring Employable Mental Retardates" (unpublished Ed. D. thesis, Dept. of Education, Columbia University, 1969), p. 70.

⁶Ibid., p. 71.

⁷J. Ralph Reed, "Circumstances Surrounding the Employment of Beginning Office Workers in Oklahoma City" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, University of Oklahoma, 1955), pp. 164-167.

job-seekers. Employers, in that area, based their selection of workers upon the information gained in personal interviews relying very little on references and application blanks.⁸

In the Syracuse, New York, area six broad categories of information pertaining to employers' needs and attitudes were used in an investigation.⁹ The categories included: entrance requirements; procedures used by employers in selecting employees; knowledge, skills, and abilities believed by employers to be indices of job success; and characteristics and traits required for job success. Of the 24 characteristics and traits studies, those rated by employers as being the most essential were: integrity, dependability, attendance, cooperativeness, getting along with associates, respect for authority, and loyalty.

New workers were reported as being acceptable for employment between the ages of 16 and 18 years by nearly 5 out of every 6 companies reporting. But, almost 50 per cent of the firms reported they would not employ workers below 18 years of age. A little less than one-half of the companies responding to the question of their interest in employing students on a part-time retraining basis showed a willingness to do so.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Edwin E. Weeks, "A Study of the Expressed Employment Needs of Employers in the Syracuse Metropolitan Area With Implications for the Office Occupations Program in the Syracuse Public Schools" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, Syracuse University, 1961), p. 301.

Of those companies giving a negative reply several indicated the idea was sound, but that the program must be proven before they would participate. They also indicated that business conditions would have to be good before any retraining program would work.¹⁰

In the state of South Dakota the only formal study undertaken to determine employer opinion of the entire state was by Anderson. This study was only partially concerned with employer opinion and was not conducted by the interview method. It pointed up that employers were dissatisfied with vocational training in South Dakota to such an extent that it would not enhance their chances of hiring an individual so trained.¹¹

Rickard did an intensive analysis of employer prejudice toward the disabled worker but included such factors as the sex, competence, and sociability of prospective employees.¹² From the observation that no significant preference for either man or woman was indicated by employer-respondent, Rickard inferred that a physically disabled female

¹⁰Ibid., p. 304.

¹¹Richard D. Anderson, "The Need for Trade and Industrial Shops in South Dakota High Schools" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1953).

¹²Thomas Edwin Rickard, "Indices of Employer Prejudice: An Analysis of Psychological Aspects of Prejudice Toward the Disabled Worker" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1962).

would have no more difficulty in securing employment than a man of equal competence and sociability.¹³ The same was definitely not true, however, in reference to nonphysical disabilities. A female discharged from a mental institution or prison enjoyed a great deal less favor with employers than would a man of equal competence and sociability.¹⁴

When looking at competence as a criterion of employment, it was found to have significant effects on employer's decisions. In fact, competence was a major consideration in the minds of employers in making employment decisions. It was concluded that the emphasis placed on competence in comparison to other characteristics might be due partially to the job description. Consequently, the importance of the competence factor "in the case of the job described (accountant) would indicate that prejudice toward the disabled worker might be compensated for by over-training."¹⁵

This study's determination of the importance of the disabling condition, sociability, competence, and sex, showed that from the disabled worker's point of view, increasing competence could be an effective means of overcoming employers' prejudicial attitudes due to

¹³Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 68.

disability.¹⁶ Cruickshank,¹⁷ on the other hand, has noticed that the disabled are overtrained. In his view, development of an unreasonably high level of competence may injure the social adjustment of the disabled person. This point of view emphasizes the emotional dissonance which occurs when a disabled person is trained for a high level job and finds that he cannot obtain employment except in a position much lower than his level of training.

Rickard¹⁸ insists that there is a complete disparity between employers' attitudes toward hiring certain categories of people and their actual employment practices, i.e., they tend to be more tolerant in practice than in expressed opinions. This was reflected in the fact that of the employers interviewed, although there were no written policies, there were operational practices based on personal attitudes which guided hiring decisions.

Rickard's findings were supported by Jennings¹⁹ who interviewed employers in Manhattan, New York, in business and industry including

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ W. M. Cruickshank, "The Exceptional Child in Elementary and Secondary Schools" in W. M. Cruickshank and G. O. Johnson (Eds.) Education of Exceptional Children and Youth (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1958), pp. 94-144.

¹⁸ Rickard, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁹ M. Jennings, "Twice Handicapped," Occupations, Vol. 30, 1951, pp. 176-181.

two banks, two variety stores, two department stores, three restaurants, one residence club, one apartment hotel, two hospitals, one research laboratory, two insurance companies, two garment manufacturers, one publishing house, and one printing firm. The results of this study led to two conclusions. First, there were discrepancies between an employer's expressed opinion and the actual practice in regard to hiring. Second, employers held many misconceptions about the abilities of the handicapped. The following conclusions were found concerning beliefs held by a majority of employers:

- (1) In order to enable the handicapped person to adapt himself to the work situation, the employer must make special provisions.
- (2) A feeling of doubt about general stamina and lack of confidence in physical ability was highly prevalent.
- (3) Employers were unable to accept the handicapped person as a normal employee and there was a tendency toward exaggerated sympathy.
- (4) The employers identified with the consumer public's reluctance to accept the impaired as capable and self-sufficient.
- (5) An incorrect idea of the handicapped person's rate of absenteeism was pervasive.²⁰

Henshel,²¹ in a speech to the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped reported on employers' attitudes toward

²⁰Rickard, op. cit., p. 20.

²¹H. A. Henshel, "A Pattern for American Industry," Performance, Vol. 5 (1953), pp. 4-5.

disabled workers. He proposed a situation in which six qualified applicants wanted a position, but one of them was disabled. In this instance the employer gave the position to the impaired applicant because:²²

- (1) The disabled workers are more careful in the observance of company rules.
- (2) The disabled workers are more conscientious and more industrious.
- (3) They are willing to cheerfully fill other vacant positions or fill in for absent people.
- (4) They seem to be incapable of tardiness.
- (5) They integrate with other workers more readily and are almost instantly absorbed into the social structure inherent in any corporation.

The National Industrial Conference Board undertook a pilot study to gain a better idea of what employers were looking for in terms of employees. A survey of 401 employers in a full-employment area showed nearly 8,000 job vacancies. About 33 per cent of the vacant jobs were for professional, semi-professional, and managerial talent. About 22 per cent were for semi-skilled workers, 17 per cent for skilled, 14 per cent for clerical and sales, 7 per cent for workers in service occupations, and only 6 per cent for unskilled.²³

²²Rickard, op. cit., p. 30.

²³William B. Dickinson, "Shortage of Skills," Editorial Research Reports, Vol. II, 1965, No. 9, Sept. 3.

A Study of Manpower needs in 1975 produced similar conclusions. It showed that "the overall effect will be clearly toward a rising demand for workers with a high level of education and training, and a relative lessening of opportunities for the less skilled and less educated."²⁴

The most rapidly growing broad occupational group will be professional and technical workers, who also have the highest average educational attainment. In March 1962, for example, nearly three out of every five professional and technical workers had completed four years of college or more. . . . Other rapidly growing occupations--the managerial and some groups of clerical workers--also require higher than average levels of educational attainment. . . .

Increased needs for mechanics and repairmen, building-trades craftsmen, and foremen will probably account for about four-fifths of the growth in the skilled (blue-collar) worker group . . . In every broad occupational group, the requirement seems to be for more and more education and training. With this continuing upgrading of the educational and skill level of the work force, it is apparent that workers who do not obtain adequate preparation for work, by completing high school or college or through apprenticeship or other vocational training, will find it more and more difficult to find satisfactory and rewarding jobs.²⁵

The Labor Department's analysis of employers' needs reflected a steady shift in employment from the manufacture of goods to service occupations. Some labor experts assert that "it is no longer correct

²⁴Howard Stambler, "Manpower Needs in 1975," Monthly Labor Review, April 1965, p. 383.

²⁵Ibid.

to say that the United States has an industrial economy; it is a service economy."²⁶ The number of workers in industry producing tangible goods began declining eight years ago in 1953, when the total was estimated at 33.3 million. In the interim the number has declined to 31.4 million. The proportion of total employment in goods-producing fell below 50 per cent in 1955. In 1965 it stood at 45 per cent and is still declining.²⁷

John L. Fulmer contended that the greatest potential for placement of the chronically unemployed exists in basic entry jobs. Basic entry jobs are those jobs which are at the lowest point on the job ladder. Hiring standards are generally lower and applied with more subjectivity. On this level, he found, there are jobs for everyone regardless of their skills or training. Employers' hiring criteria in broad terms were as follows:²⁸

Clerical and
Office

18 years of age, 12 years of
schooling or equivalent;
skills for the job and a
good personality.

Plant, factory
or operations

18 years of age; 8-12 years
of schooling (flex.);
physically fit; craft skills
or aptitude.

²⁶Stambler, op. cit., p. 650.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸John N. Fulmer, "Jobs Available for the Hard Core Unemployed in the American Economy" in Proceedings of Conference, Methods of Job Development for the Hard Core Unemployed, Industrial Management Center, Atlanta, Georgia, 1969, p. 24.

Maintenance
Mechanics

18-25 years of age;
8-12 years of education
but 12 years for apprentice-
ship; physically fit; and
mechanical aptitude.

Janitors and
Waitresses

Age and education flexible;
physically fit; and often
for janitors, clearance on
police and credit records.

Further analysis of the criteria for basic entry jobs revealed that 39 per cent of basic entry jobs could be filled by the hard-core unemployed without affecting efficiency or job performance.²⁹ The Teamsters Union was not satisfied with finding employment on the basic entry level.

At the street level from which trainees view reality, the Teamsters have an image of a strong, aggressive organization. They offered a means of giving trainees an identity and a feeling of securing employment before an employer was ever encountered. They exercised coercion over employers and did not allow employers to administer admission tests; allowed no requirements (other than union membership) for employment; and set the criteria for employment to favor the poorest members of minority groups who were either drop-outs or over 45 years old.³⁰ The program was successful, employers themselves

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Fred H. Schmidt, "A Repair Shop for Unemployables," Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Los Angeles, 1969, pp. 280-283.

agreed. But, success could be attributable to teamster "moxie" rather than employee performance.

One study directly related to employers' attitudes sheds light on an important area of inquiry but does not make specific statements. Smith and McLaughlin have found significant differences between public and private employers' attitudes toward a number of areas.³¹ They have shown the governmental employer cannot negotiate on pay, hours of work, or fringe benefits because they are established by law. This has an effect on public employers' attitudes so that it affects personnel policies.

Burt, et al elaborated this point further contending that:

What is proposed herein is that government agencies--federal, state, and local--assume the same social-conscience obligations as are being demanded of employers in the private sector of our economy. To suggest that a public agency or agencies are defaulting in social responsibility is ridiculous prima facie; yet facts supporting this contention are tragic. It is well known that widespread racial discrimination does exist in hiring and upgrading minority-group individuals at all levels of government. The first action then that needs to be taken is for the President and the Civil Service Commission to enforce the present regulations and develop any needed new ones concerning the up-grading of the human resources.

³¹Russel A. Smith and Doris McLaughlin, "Public Employment: A Neglected Area of Research and Training in Labor Relations" in Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan, No. 38, 1970, p. 40.

development efforts of federal government agencies-- even beyond any comparable effort by private industry. In the same way that such programs can be enforced in federal agencies they can be enforced in state and local government agencies by the appropriate executive bodies and officers. Permissive legislation already exists at all these levels; what is really needed is for the agency administrators to demonstrate their professed concern.³²

They see governmental employers as the major villain while private employers have a strong social conscience.

Karsh³³ has not drawn this distinction. Instead, he argues that the attitudes of employers in both sectors were framed by the factory technologies of the steam engine. He has advocated stripping the employee of his control over the job and at the same time taking the managerial function away from the employer in order to place it in the hands of persons especially trained for that purpose. The most important element in the determination of an employer's hiring practice, according to Karsh, depends upon the nature of the job under consideration. Thus, in hiring blue collar workers the employer is likely to be extremely negative.

Green agreed and has found the origin of the employer's hostile attitude in unionism. He exemplifies his argument by noticing a

³²Samuel M. Burt and Herbert Striner, "Toward Greater Industry and Government Involvement in Manpower Development," Staff Paper of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1969, p. 16.

³³Bernard Karsh, "Human Relations Versus Management," Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana, Reprint No. 200.

substantial shift in employers' attitudes as a result of anecdotes such as the following:

The iron ore miners were on strike up in Minnesota. It was a long, hard strike but the men held out pretty good. A lot of them were Finns-- Finns believe in solidarity. One day a striker's wife was about out of money. She went to the butcher shop to try to buy some cheap cut of meat that might last the family for a week. She saw a calf's head in the case and figured it would make lots of soup. So she asked the butcher, "How much?" He said, "One dollar." That was too much so she started to leave. But just as she got to the door she asked again, "Is this a union shop; is your meat union?" He was surprised but replied, "Sure, I'm a member of the Amalgamated--I cut my meat by union rule--there's my shop card in the window." The lady said, "Well I don't want any union meat. Don't you have a scab calf's head?" The butcher was stumped but he was smart. So he said, "Just a minute, ma'am," and he took the calf's head into the room back of the shop. Pretty soon the lady heard a lot of clatter. The butcher came out of the room and handed her the wrapped package. He said, "That'll be seventy cents, ma'am." She was very pleased at the saving, paid up and started for the door. But she was curious. So she asked, "Isn't this scab calf's head the same as the union head you tried to sell me for a dollar?" The butcher said, "Yes, ma'am, it is. I just knocked out thirty cents' worth of brains!"³⁴

or poignant songs such as:

Are you poor, forlorn and hungry?
Are there lots of things you lack?
Is your life made up of misery?
Then dump the bosses off your back.

³⁴ Archie Green, "The Workers in the Dawn," Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana, p. 258.

I hate the company bosses,
 I'll tell you the reason why.
 They caused me so much suffering
 And my dearest friends to die.³⁵

Employers' attitudes, however, like other social phenomena seldom have only one cause. The illusion of simplicity is quickly dissipated when it is pointed up that an extensive review of the literature dealing with employers' attitudes toward hiring can show there is no genuine consensus. If employee success on the job can be used as any indicator it is apparent that employers who stressed training as an entry requirement as well as those who denigrated training were equally correct.

Theoretical Framework

Role Theory has come to occupy a crucial position in sociology. It has also been used in anthropology, social psychology, education and other disciplines. Subsidiary role concepts have been used extensively by investigators interested in the practical application of knowledge gained by social scientists.

Yet, in spite of the ubiquitous usage of the theory there are substantial differences in terms of its definition. Usage of the formulation shows a myriad of conceptualizations. The role concept has been linked with terms such as "status," "position," or "office." It has also been used to describe a process of communication and of

³⁵Ibid., p. 260.

cooperative behavior. Other definitions of "role" use is to denote an individual's perception, knowledge, or idea of appropriate behavior. "Role" may be used in reference to expectations associated with the behavior of the incumbent of a position or to the responsibilities of a role occupant. When the occupant of a position interacts with the occupants of other position the resultant overt behavior is said to constitute a role.

The failure to distinguish between prescribed role, subjective role, and enacted role have led to chaos and confusion since different writers have used "role" at different levels of generalization. Moreover, various writers have looked at quite different yet related aspects of the same concept. The disagreement and lack of complete understanding of the role concept have been further intensified because:

- (1) Users of the term role use the concept in different perspectives.
- (2) The various variables and properties of "role" have not always been clearly separated.
- (3) "Role" is a very complex concept which appears to be deceptively simple while it is descriptive of a wide range of complex behaviors and inter-relationships.

In attempting to clarify the term role, adherence to a policy of classificatory definitions is the only method to look at the wide range of its dimensions without further confusing and complicating the matter. Integrative definitions would neither allow the concept to be operationalized nor would they support the goal of clarification.

The following classes of definitions are identifiable. In some cases the classes are mutually exclusive. In others, several connections appear between them. It has not been assumed that the proposed classification is completely exhaustive or that they are the only ones which can be identified. Instead, they serve to give a full grasp of the various dimensions of the role concept.

As expressed by the meanings which occupy the central position in the work of their users the definitions of "role" are:³⁶

- (1) Normative
- (2) Behavioral
- (3) Positional
- (4) Functions and Duties
- (5) Socialization and Personality
- (6) Cognitions and Perceptions
- (7) Relational (includes any two or more of the above)

The concept of social role has been the central theme in several sociological studies and has been given a comprehensive treatment in the literature.^{37,38,39,40,41}

³⁶This classificatory scheme has been derived from Florian Znaniecki's Social Relations and Social Roles: The Unfinished Systematic Sociology (San Francisco: Chandler, 1965) which presented a fairly complete application of "role" to a number of cultures and cultural areas.

³⁷Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

³⁸Bruce J. Biddle, The Present Status of Role Theory (Columbia, Missouri: Social Psychological Laboratories, University of Missouri, 1961).

³⁹Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (eds.), Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

⁴⁰Michael Banton, Roles: An Introduction to the Study of Social Relations (New York: Basic Books Publishers, 1966).

⁴¹H. C. Bredemeier and R. M. Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

Normative

Roles may be defined in terms of prescriptions, i.e., the standards of behavior, rules, or norms which govern the role performance of a role occupant. This usage designates societal expectations, or the expectations of elite members of society, in reference to what the individual ought to do. Since these prescriptions define what the role occupant has a right to do or what he is expected not to do, several writers have used terms that imply prescriptive behavior in their definitions of role. Such concepts as norms, role expectations, ideal role, sanction, role criterion, and prescribed behavior are the most commonly used. Prescribed roles or norms are generally external to the role incumbent and apply to him in the sense that they are the norms of the social system in which he is a member. They are the expectations of other members of the society. Bennett and Tumin follow the normative approach in their definition of a role as:

. . . what the society expects of an individual occupying a given status. This implies that any status is functionally defined by the role attached to it.⁴²

Pugh,⁴³ similarly defines a role as "a set of expectations and behaviors associated with a given position in a social system." He

⁴²J. W. Bennett and M. Tumin, Social Life: Structure and Function (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), p. 96.

⁴³Derek Pugh, "Role Activation Conflict: A Study of Industrial Inspection," American Sociological Review, 31, 6, 1966, p. 836.

further identified three elements associated with the idea of role, one of which was role expectations, i.e., "the set of structurally given normative demands and responsibilities associated with a position."

In like style, Deutch and Krauss⁴⁴ have described a role as consisting of:

. . . the system of expectations which exists in the social world surrounding the occupant of a position-- expectations regarding his behavior toward occupants of some other position.

They referred to this as the individual's prescribed role.

Hollander⁴⁵ lends support to the normative approach in his idea that:

Roles are normative in that they involve some implicit shared expectancy among group members; and norms themselves, lacking visibility, may nonetheless dwell in expectancies. It is these expectancies then which may be normative, in the sense of typicality. Norms and roles are only distinguishable insofar as norms usually imply expectancies applicable to many persons, while roles are expectancies restrictive to one or very few individuals in a group.

Jacobson, et al.,⁴⁶ define role as "a set of expectations which

⁴⁴Morton Deutsch and Robert Kraus, Theories in Social Psychology (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 175.

⁴⁵E. P. Hollander, "Conformity, Status, and Idiosyncratic Credit," Psychological Review, Vol. 65, 1959, p. 635.

⁴⁶E. Jacobson, W. Charter, and S. Lieberman, "The Use of Role Concept in the Study of Complex Organizations," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 8, 1951, p. 19.

others share of the behavior an individual will exhibit as an occupant of a position or status category." This is in agreement with the normative definitions proposed earlier.

Cotu⁴⁷ defines a role so that: "a role represents what a person is supposed to do in a given situation by virtue of the social position he holds." Role, in this sense has been identified as a socially prescribed way of acting in a specific situation for the occupant of any social position.

Thibaut and Kelley⁴⁸ maintain that:

By a role, then, we mean the class of one or more norms that applies to a person's behavior with regard to some specific external problem or in relation to a special class of other persons.

In these terms a role can be seen as a cluster of norms which provide for a specialization of function among group members.

Role is defined by Brown⁴⁹ as "norms that apply to categories of persons." The implication in this definition is that for a category to be a role there must be a large number of norms. It is apparent, then,

⁴⁷W. Cotu, "Role-Playing vs. Role Taking: An Appeal for Clarification," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, 1951, p. 180.

⁴⁸J. W. Thibaut and H. H. Kelley, The Social Psychology of Groups (New York: John Wiley, 1961), p. 143.

⁴⁹Roger Brown, Social Psychology (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 154-156.

that norms will vary in their requirements and the role occupants will occupy complimentary roles.

Sherif⁵⁰ indicates that:

Every kind of status places the individual in definite relationships to other individuals, whereby his duties, responsibilities, and privileges are prescribed within the social order. Once he is there in a particular status, he has no choices but fulfill the requirements demanded of the status.

Berger⁵¹ agrees in that he sees various institutional structures having the capacity to mold men to fit institutional needs. Thus, the individual is largely incapable of self determination. His personality is formed primarily by that institution in which he holds membership. Even the individual's identity is socially bestowed, socially sustained, and socially transformed through his institutional role.

Returning to the definition of role rather than its ramifications on the individual Getzels⁵² may be cited as defining role in terms of the expectations of others. He sees that:

A role has certain normative obligations which may be termed "role expectations" and when

⁵⁰Muzafer Sherif, A Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), pp. 187-188.

⁵¹Peter L. Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1963), pp. 94-110.

⁵²J. W. Getzels, "Administration As A Social Process," in A. N. Halpin (ed.) Administrative Theory in Education (Chicago: Mid-West Administrative Center, 1958), p. 53.

the role incumbent puts these obligations and responsibilities into effect, he is said to perform his role.

The most penetrating analysis of the literature germane to role theory has been conducted by Biddle and Thomas⁵³ who wrote that:

Perhaps the most common definition is that role is the set of prescriptions defining what the behavior of a position member should be.

In the field of social psychology, the normative or prescriptive description of role is used the most frequently. Behavioral definitions are another approach to an understanding of the role concept.

Behaviorial

Definitions in this class at least implicitly include concepts such as action, enacted role, and role performance which connote a dynamic state associated with the attached position. Sarbin,⁵⁴ as an example, indicates that " . . . the actions performed by the person to validate his occupancy of the position" are his role. Thus, the actions, performances, or behavior, of an individual which are directed toward the goal of fulfilling the duties as an occupant of a position constitute a role. This same social phenomenon is sometimes referred to as role performance or role behavior.

⁵³Biddle and Thomas, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵⁴T. R. Sarbin, "Role Theory" in G. Lindzey (ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 225.

Bredemeier and Stephenson⁵⁵ have defined role as the behavioral aspect of the position which:

. . . prescribes how the status occupant should act toward one of the persons with whom his status rights and obligations put him in contact.

This definition depicts role as being the enactment or behavioral aspect of prescribed role as discussed by Deutsch and Kraus. They use role in terms of prescribed, subjective, and enacted roles. Enacted roles, which are the manifest behavior of the incumbent of a position, fall into the class of behavioral roles. According to Deutsch and Kraus:⁵⁶

The enacted role consists of the specific overt behaviors of the occupant of a position when he interacts with the occupants of some other position.

Kingsley Davis⁵⁷ shares this view in his contention that the actual behavior of an individual in a position, in contrast to the behavior expected, is the role of an individual. In Davis' terms: "the role is the manner in which a person actually carries out the requirements of his position."

⁵⁵H. C. Bredemeier and R. M. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 31.

⁵⁶Deutsch and Kraus, loc. cit.

⁵⁷Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 90.

Turner⁵⁸ uses role to refer to behavior rather than position because "one may enact a role but cannot occupy it." He expounded a highly inclusive definition which typifies the behavioral classification of role:

By role we mean a collection of patterns of behavior which are thought to constitute a meaningful unit and deemed appropriate to a person occupying a particular status in society (e.g., a doctor or father), occupying an informally defined position in interpersonal relations (e.g., leader or compromiser), or identified with a particular value in society (e.g., honest man or patriot).

The above quotation includes elements of the behavioral, positional, and normative classes. Positional role also incorporates elements of the other classes.

Positional Role

Newcomb's⁵⁹ conception of role has linkages with behavioral definitions, but emphasizes the importance of position as a definitive quality of role. Thus, a role is: "the ways of behaving which are expected of any individual who occupies a position," while the actual behavior of the occupant is seen as role behavior.

⁵⁸Ralph H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint and Reference Group Behavior," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1956, p. 119.

⁵⁹Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), p. 280.

In differentiating social role from status, Merton⁶⁰ uses the positional class by noticing that " . . . social role refers to the behavior of status occupants that is oriented toward the patterned expectations of others (who accord the rights and exact the obligations)." This definition is in part derived from that of Ralph Linton⁶¹ who maintained that:

A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties. . . . A role represents the dynamic aspects of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role.

According to Linton the individual's roles are determined primarily by his patterns of participation. Unlike Merton he conceives of role and status as being inexorably interwoven, thus inseparable concepts since there are "no roles without statuses or statuses without roles."⁶²

Among those who have defined role in terms of position is Bates.⁶³ He showed that a position is the location in a social structure which

⁶⁰Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 41.

⁶¹Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 105-107.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³F. L. Bates, "Position, Role, and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts," Social Forces, Vol. 34, 1956, p. 314.

is associated with a set of social norms and defines role as:

A part of social position consisting of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social norms which is distinguished from other sets of norms forming the same position. . . ."

Levy⁶⁴ has also defined role in terms of position. In doing so he drew a distinction between an ideal and an actual role. His definition was:

. . . any position differentiated in terms of a given social structure whether the position be institutionalized or not . . . these roles involve obligations, rights, and expected performances of the individuals who hold them.

According to him, an actual role is the position actually occupied by the individual while an ideal role is one which has become institutionalized. Fourteen years later Levy⁶⁵ still adhered to the positional component of role when he defined it as: " . . . any socially differentiated position in terms of which an individual may and/or does act."

Functions and Duties

When role is defined in terms of the functions and duties of the

⁶⁴Marion J. Levy, The Structure of Society (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 159.

⁶⁵Marion J. Levy, Modernization and the Structures of Societies (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 44.

role occupant another dimension is added to the role concept. Hilton⁶⁶ who uses this approach defines role as the "major responsibilities" of an individual as a member of society. It is these major responsibilities, according to Hilton, which impede the process, and limit the extent of changes within a role. In relatively large social systems, such as General Motors or the Federal bureaucracy, the job description or functions of the members define their role. In a highly efficient organization, in terms of rational goal attainment, the members must carry out their assigned responsibilities. The type of duty the role occupant must do defines his role. This means that the division of labor in a company tends to specify the roles of the individual, at least his role within that social system.

Hunt⁶⁷ clarified the importance of functions and duties as a definitive quality of role when he wrote:

Any social system, and especially a formal organization, may be viewed structurally as an at least partially interlocking complex of positions. These positions represent the functional divisions of labor deemed useful to achievement of the system's goals and are populated by a collection of particular individuals each of who occupies at least one but commonly more than one of them.

⁶⁶M. E. Hilton, "Some Problems of Defining and Assuming Responsibilities in a Democratic Society," Journal of the National Association of Womens Deans and Counselors, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1956, pp. 143-150.

⁶⁷R. G. Hunt, in E. P. Hollander and R. G. Hunt (eds.), Current Perspectives in Social Psychology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 259.

Positions are also important to Hunt, but it can be seen that position, as he uses it, refers to the dynamic element. Consequently, position is analogous to the functional division of labor.

The individual's role may also be identified as the aggregate of duties or functions within a specific social system. Thibaut and Kelley⁶⁸ conceive of this as the functional role when they suggested that role is:

The class of one or more functions that a person is expected to perform in relation to some specific external problem or in relation to a special class of other group members.

"Function" as it has been used herein to classify role concepts is used in reference to "appropriate activity that is system-determined and system-maintaining activity."⁶⁹ This does not include function in the mathematical sense, or function as useful activity. In this sense function is a useful concept in the analysis of employers' attitudes in reference to their hiring practices.

Certain facts relative to role have been clarified. The individual occupies positions in society and his duties in these

⁶⁸Thibaut and Kelley, op. cit., p. 278.

⁶⁹For a synoptic view of the meaning of "function" see Marvin P. Riley (ed.) "A Synopsis of Martindale's 'Schools' of Sociological Theory," Dept. of Rural Sociology, Brookings, South Dakota, 1965, p. 41, an unpublished review of Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

positions are prescribed to a large extent by his immediate socio-cultural milieu. Social prescriptions, the role incumbent's identity, the relationship between roles, and the feedback from significant others, largely determine role behavior. Individual role performance is affected by and expressed within a framework provided by factors which are external to the social actor. There is also a relationship between role and the development of personality.

Socialization and Personality

The concept of role as the basic factor in personality formation was seen by Bezdek and Strodbeck⁷⁰ in their analysis of the relationship between six-role identity and pragmatic action. They wrote:

All of the four foregoing authors agree that identification learning . . . depends upon a diffuse, enduring complementary role relation.

The individual learns his identity through his role. Cameron⁷¹ agrees, when he states:

We mean by the role, a comprehensive and coherent organization in behavior of functionally related interlocking attitudes and responses. The role is a product of social learning, which has been culturally defined by the behavior of others, and is based either upon direct personal

⁷⁰William Bezdek and Fred L. Strodbeck, "Sex-Role Identity and Pragmatic Action," American Sociological Review, Vol. 35, No. 3, June 1970, p. 493.

⁷¹Norman Cameron, The Psychology of Behavior Disorder (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), p. 90.

interaction, or upon the symbolic substitutes for personal interaction in conventional language and thought.

Murray A. Strauss,⁷² while discussing the work roles of male youths, emphasized the importance of role in personality development:

The importance for the socialization process of intrafamily work roles and experience in the management of economic resources is reflected in the frequency of advice in parent guidance literature on how to initiate children into these roles. . . .

He further shows that farm boys are likely to develop patterns of mismanagement in their financial endeavors as a result of inappropriate early role-prescriptions.

In a discussion of the ambiguities involved in the use of the role concept Neiman and Hughes⁷³ maintained that:

Personality, or the most significant part of it, is the organization of the roles the person plays in group life . . . The role is the organization of habits and attitudes of the individual appropriate to a given position in a system of social relationships.

In regard to the relationship between role and personality Krech

⁷²Murray A. Strauss, "Work Roles and Financial Responsibility in the Socialization of Farm, Fringe, and Town Boys," Rural Sociology, Vol. 27, No. 3, September 1962, p. 258.

⁷³L. J. Neiman and J. W. Hughes, "The Problem of the Concept of Role--A Re-Survey of the Literature," Social Forces, Vol. 30, No. 2, December 1951, p. 142.

et al.,⁷⁴ asserts that:

The relation between role behavior and personality is a complex, reciprocal one . . . the personality of the individual is shaped by his work--the occupational role he performs. But his occupational role behavior also is shaped by his personality.

From the discussion of the influence of a person's role on his behavior, it becomes evident that one's social role is of great importance in personality formation. The converse is also true, i.e., personality factors are one of the factors that determine role enactment and role perception.

Cognitions and Perceptions

"Role" can also be described in terms of the social actor's definition of his situation or position. The efficacy of each actor's performance in his role depends to some extent upon what he believes he ought to do or upon his definition of the situation. In the literature of role theory this is variously referred to as: role definition; role perception; role conception; and subjective role.

E. A. Wilkening⁷⁵ describes role definition as an "agent's indication of what he feels he 'ought to do' or what he feels his relationship with others 'should be'."

⁷⁴D. Krech, R. S. Crutchfield, and E. D. Ballachey, Individual in Society (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), p. 504.

⁷⁵E. A. Wilkening, "The County Extension Agent in Wisconsin: Perceptions of Role Definitions as Viewed by Agents," Research Bulletin, 203, Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin, 1957, p. 2.

Porter⁷⁶ defined role perception with the following statement:

Self perceptions are a function of both the individual's enduring traits and his present social roles. Thus, when a person describes how he perceives himself, he must to some extent, use his present social environment as a reference point to which he can relate his own behavior and his own personality traits.

Again, the reciprocal relationship between the individual and his role has become apparent. The social actor defines himself in terms of his social role and defines his role in reference to his own traits.

Role conception, according to Pugh, is:⁷⁷ " . . . an individual's definition of what someone in his position is supposed to think and do."

Deutsch and Kraus⁷⁸ defined subjective role as:

. . . those specific expectations the occupant of a position perceives as applicable to his own behavior when he interacts with the occupants of some other position.

The above discussion of role in terms of cognitions and perceptions has shown the necessity of accurate role assessment. The more reliable perception an individual has of himself and his role the greater his chances of success.

⁷⁶Lyman Porter, "Differential Self-Perception of the Management Personnel and His Workers," Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 42, No. 2, 1958, p. 105.

⁷⁷Pugh, op. cit., p. 836.

⁷⁸Deutsch and Kraus, loc. cit.

The role definition approach was propounded by Hughes⁷⁹ initially. He maintained that the role is much more than what a social actor expects of himself in certain situations: it also includes what others expect of him. This formulation incorporates the expectations of significant others who have influence upon persons who occupy a specific position into the role concept. Thus, the patterning and organization of the actions of an individual which are an aid to the fulfillment of role expectations of his own role and related roles constitute a role syndrome. Human behavior is not random behavior. Instead, it is influenced by the expectations of others. As Goffman⁸⁰ shows:

The individual's role enactment occurs largely through a cycle of face-to-face situations with role others, that is, relevant audiences. . . .

or Bierstedt:⁸¹

The responses that finally result in selfhood are not the discontinuous responses to different others but rather the continuous responses we make to a generalized other.

⁷⁹E. C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 43, 1937, pp. 404-413.

⁸⁰Erving Goffman, Where the Action Is: Three Essays (London: Allen Lane, 1969), p. 39.

⁸¹Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology, Second Edition (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), p. 202.

The expectations of others act as stimuli to secure conformity with the normative expectations of a position. But, different actors respond to stimuli in accord with their definition of that stimuli. The responses an actor elicits to the expectation of others will, therefore, help to define his role.

Underlying these concepts of social role is the thesis that a social actor in a position behaves in reference to his perception of what others expect or have a right to expect of him. Role is more than a regulatory pattern for actions which are visible.

One feels more ardent by kissing, more humble by kneeling, and more angry by shaking one's fist. That is, the kiss not only expresses ardor but manufactures it. Roles carry with them both certain actions and the emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions. The professor . . . comes to be wise . . . one becomes wise by being a professor.⁸²

Such a process is neither deliberate nor based on cognition. The process is strong because of the unconscious nature of role expectations.⁸³

As noted earlier, the classificatory scheme for role definitions is not mutually exclusive. Not all the definitions of role expressed in the literature fit closely into only one of the categories described above.

⁸²Peter Berger, op. cit., p. 96.

⁸³Jackson Toby, Contemporary Society: An Introduction to Sociology, 2nd Edition (New York: John Wiley, 1971), pp. 6-7.

Relational

The discussion of relational classes of role definitions attempts to group all these together, but emphasizes definitions which stress the relationships between any two or more of those discussed above. Of equal importance are those definitions which put emphasis on the relationships between persons. "Role set" and "multiple role" are fundamental terms in drawing a connection between expectations, behaviors, and relationships which constitute social structure.

The idea of role set was developed by Merton⁸⁴ who defined it as "the complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status." He further noted that "a particular social status involves not a single associated role, but an array of associated roles," and maintains that this is the basic characteristic of social structure. He contended that persons who occupy a particular status are engaged in a series of role relationships which together make up a role set.

To Hunt⁸⁵ a role set is "the totality of counter positions that can be set in meaningful complementary contrast with a given focal position. . . ." In interacting with others, the role incumbent's position becomes clarified by the expectations of relevant others. These relevant others, when taken together form the role set. The other individuals are referred to as the social actor's role partners.

⁸⁴Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 369.

⁸⁵Richard Hunt, loc. cit.

Role set differs from multiple roles in that the former refers to the complex of roles associated with a single social status, e.g., employer-employee whereas multiple roles refer to the relationship between a single status and the individual's other statuses, e.g., employer to father, husband and son.

Role sector, as used by Gross,⁸⁶ is another term frequently associated with role set. The total role associated with a position falls into role sectors or sub-roles each having to deal with a role other of a particular kind, e.g., the employer relations with an employee is a role sector of the employer's role in business. Social changes in a role set are traceable to a loss or gain of role others to the role set.

"No role is an island." Every role must have a counterpart. The role of an employer, for example, is determined by the expectations of the various social actors with which he interacts. He adjusts his behavior to the perspective and expectations of these others. The employer comes in contact with disparate individuals, clusters of individuals, and situations with different expectations. This lack of agreement between the expectations expressed, places the employer in a position which has conflicting, multiple, and incongruent role expectations.

⁸⁶Gross, McEachern, and Mason, op. cit., p. 62.

Role Conflict and Its Reduction

The structure of the social system involves the employer in role conflict. In the literature of role theory this conflict has been termed role incompatibility,⁸⁷ role dilemma,⁸⁸ role stress,⁸⁹ role strain,⁹⁰ and role confusion.⁹¹

Role strain is defined as "the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations," by Goode.⁹² Parsons⁹³ referred to basically the same thing when he wrote:

. . . the exposure of the actor to conflicting sets of legitimized role expectations such that complete fulfillment of both is realistically impossible.

Gross et al.,⁹⁴ contended that "any situation in which the incumbent of a focal position perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations will be called a role conflict." The

⁸⁷Gross, McEachern and Mason, op. cit., pp. 248-249.

⁸⁸George Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955).

⁸⁹Rose L. Coser, "Insulation From Observability and Types of Social Conformity," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 1, February, 1961, p. 29.

⁹⁰William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, 1960, pp. 483-496.

⁹¹A. Paul Hare, Handbook of Small Group Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1962).

⁹²Goode, op. cit., p. 483.

⁹³Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 280.

⁹⁴Gross et al., op. cit., p. 248.

expectations, cited by Gross, may arise from the occupancy of one or more positions by the same individual. This is a case of inter-role conflict wherein different social actors hold disparate views about the occupant of a single position. For example, people may engage in expressive relations with an employer as a friend or neighbor while at the same time they may be involved in instrumental relationships as an employee. The result could lead to inter-role conflict. In intra-role conflict, on the other hand, different people have incompatible expectations relevant to the occupant of one role.

Parson and Shils⁹⁵ when analyzing role conflict maintain that:

The term 'role conflict' has been used to refer to this very fact that any ego is usually involved at different times, or even at the same time, in several different social structures or institutions and that the sorts of behaviors expected of him in these different social structures or institutions may be incompatible.

Consequently, role conflicts occur because the role occupant cannot conform to the demands of two or more situations which require mutually exclusive or contradictory expectations. The sources of role conflict are more diverse. Merton⁹⁶ shows one possibility:

⁹⁵Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils (eds.), Toward A General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 350.

⁹⁶Robert K. Merton (1957), op. cit., pp. 368-384.

The basic source of disturbance in the role set is the structural circumstances that any one occupying a particular status has role-partners who are differently located in the social structure.

When an employer has role-partners who have a location at different points in the structure of the organization role conflict may develop. It develops out of the differences in the expectation held for the employer's patterns of behavior by those in a position of authority above him, the employees, and the customers, all of which define part of the role of the employer. Insofar as these role definers hold different expectations for the employers he will be forced to choose between incompatible courses of action. As a result the employer faces a paradoxical situation as to which course of action to take. He is on the horns of a dilemma, each horn representing conflicting elements within his own role-set.

When there is considerable difference between the prescribed role and the enacted role, role conflict will likely arise. Also, when a social actor's role expectations are incompatible with the role expectations of significant others role conflict will exist. It may also be a result of an excessive demand on the amounts of time, energy, and activities of the social actor imposed by role partners. Because position involves a wide array of interaction with others the social actor may become torn between incompatible role demands. The result is role conflict. Conflicting expectations may also arise when the

social actor has a position in each of two social systems. This has been called, by Krech,⁹⁷ multiple role conflict.

Another source of role conflict is a disparity between the personality needs of a role incumbent and the role expectations of others. The role occupant's personality partially determines his definition of, and reaction to, role conflict situations. A number of researchers, notably Getzels and Guba,⁹⁸ and Stouffer and Toby,⁹⁹ have supported the hypothesis that personality factors are a source of role conflict. The personality factor in role conflict, however, has not been extensively taken into account because of two factors. First, the sociologist's aversion to psychollogism and secondly because role prescriptions usually specify a broad range of acceptable behaviors. As a result of the latter, it is permissible for persons with substantially different personalities to satisfy the demands of any particular role with a minimum of conflict.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, all roles are expected to possess at least a minimum amount of conflict. Goode¹⁰¹

⁹⁷Krech et al, op. cit.

⁹⁸J. W. Getzels and E. Guba, "Role, Role Conflict and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1954, pp. 74-85.

⁹⁹Samuel A. Stouffer and J. Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56, 1951, pp. 395-406.

¹⁰⁰Peter Berger, loc. cit.

¹⁰¹William J. Goode, loc. cit.

sums this up in the following statement: "Virtually no role demand is such a spontaneous pleasure that conformity with it is always automatic."

Thus, any role occupant must live with some amount of role conflict. When an employer is expected to hire a type of employee which would enhance his business' financial position and at the same time is expected to hire people on the basis of their need role conflict may result. The problem, which arises, therefore, is how to minimize the role conflict of the employer.

A theory cited earlier, by Gross et al.,¹⁰² was concerned with the reduction of role incompatibility. The interest of these authors centered around role conflicts based on whether role incumbents heed legitimacy or norm sanctions in the reduction of role conflict. In a study of school superintendents they identified three methods of reducing role conflict: The conflict was resolved by primary emphasis on the legitimacy of expectations; by evaluation of the possible sanctions to be expected for not conforming to group demands; and by a balance between the legitimacy and sanction dimensions and the acceptance of a compromise solution.

Role conflict may be resolved by stabilization of the role-set. Toby¹⁰³ identified seven means of dealing with conflicting role requirements:

¹⁰²Gross et al., op. cit., pp. 281-318.

¹⁰³Toby, loc. cit.

- (1) Illness--which furnishes the social actor with an acceptable rationalization for a failure in conforming to role expectations or failing to meet role responsibilities.
- (2) Stalling--waiting for the pressure to subside by playing for time and delaying decisions.
- (3) Escape--withdrawal from the effective range of the situation or source of conflict.
- (4) Leading the double-life--is accomplished by playing an appropriate role in each group and making sure there is not contact simultaneously with both groups.
- (5) Using one group against the other--involves indicating to each group the incompatibility of his role with the other groups.
- (6) Repudiation of the role in one group--simply allows the role incumbent to obviate the demands of one group.
- (7) Role redefinition--involves redefining one's role so that expectations are no longer incompatible.

Goode¹⁰⁴ lists six mechanisms for reconciling role conflict:

- (1) compartmentalization--which is the ability to mentally ignore the incompatibility of role demands; (2) delegation--assigning certain functions which are incompatible with one's major role to another person; (3) elimination of role relationships--e.g., severing relationships with friends whose basic value construct is significantly different; (4) extension--involves the expansion of role relationships in order to utilize these relationships as an excuse for not meeting certain role requirements; (5) barriers against intrusion--to insure

¹⁰⁴Goode, op. cit., pp. 442-443.

that others do not extend their role; (6) bargaining with those in the role-set--this mechanism involves reciprocal action in terms of role obligations.

Like Goode, Merton¹⁰⁵ has identified six social mechanisms for reducing role conflict. These include the variation in intensity of role involvement; the use of power; the insultation of role activity from observability;¹⁰⁶ the increase of observability of the conflicting demands; the social support of others; and the disruption or termination of role relationships.

In a study of a role conflict situation, Perry and Wynne¹⁰⁷ identified two mechanisms for the reduction of role conflict. The "integrative redefinition," which leads to the establishment of an explicitly stated behavioral norm for articulating the different functions of a role; and the "split-relationship redefinition" which leads to the complete segregation of roles. In the latter the role incumbent engages in the type of behavior for one reason but acts in a different manner with another role-partner for a completely different reason.

A very useful concept in role theory is role consensus. To the extent there is role consensus between role partners, there will be a

¹⁰⁵Merton, op. cit., pp. 371-384.

¹⁰⁶Coser, op. cit., discusses this concept in some depth noting that differential observability in connection with position of authority determines the type of interest role-partners have.

¹⁰⁷Stewart E. Perry and Lyman C. Wynne, Social Forces, Vol. 38, No. 1, October 1959, pp. 62-64.

lack of role conflict. Biddle and Thomas¹⁰⁸ have defined role consensus as "the degree of agreement of individuals on a given topic." They maintain there are varieties of consensus in terms of certain behavior. Thus, there may be a consensus of function, expectation, or sanctions. Conflict could be resolved, then, by reaching agreement on their roles.

Whenever role conflict arises, the status occupant must make a choice between one or a number of the alternatives discussed above. In doing so he needs to consider the possible reactions of his role partners. Because he has his own set of internalized expectations to these reactions he modifies his own actions to avoid negative norm sanctions or to gain approval.

Implications of Role Theory for Employer's Attitudes

Gross, Mason, and McEachern¹⁰⁹ have maintained that role theory has not been productive in providing a basis for the empirical validation of its basic tenets. It has not provided fruitful areas of research. They maintain that the holistic nature of the concept "role" does not lend itself readily to empirical investigation. Pugh¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸B. Biddle and E. Thomas, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁰⁹Gross et. al, op. cit.

¹¹⁰Derek Pugh, "Role Activation Conflict: A Study of Industrial Inspection," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, No. 6, December 1966, p. 836.

contends "role" refers to an entire family of concepts which must be "distinguished from one another and studied empirically."

The basic assumption of this study is that the concepts of "role" can be operationalized and applied in an empirical investigation. Moreover, it is maintained that the basic element of institutional structure consists of role relationships. The idea that institutions are made up of roles is fruitful since it establishes linkages between social actions and the highly abstract concept of social structure. By focusing on the individual components of the employer's decisions and attitudes, it avoids the functionalist supposition that people perform the duties of their roles because they are beneficial to society. An inquiry into the degree of consensus among incumbents holding similar positions (employers) may dispel the notion that there is consensus on role expectations among the role-occupants in a social system.

But, even without consensus roles would be likely to continue temporally since they are social phenomena which have an existence independent of the role incumbent. The independence of the employer-roles is attested to by the fact that its survival transcends the individual who generated them. Moreover, the employer-role may remain quite unchanged over time even though significant changes occur in its occupancy.

Most human behavior is not random. It is patterned. The participation of an employer is determined largely by his role and the

socialization he has undergone which includes the expectations of both significant and generalized others.

Hiring policies make demands upon the moral and ethical values of the employer. Each hiring decision involves his role and the role of many others.

Summary of Literature Reviewed

The literature reviewed falls into two categories: (1) that dealing specifically with employers' needs and attitudes and (2) that which was related to role theory.

Employers' needs and attitudes--Employers consistently showed they rated such traits as integrity, dependability, cooperativeness, loyalty, and respect for authority as being very important. The age of the employee was also found to be of importance. Employers were not desirous of hiring people who were under 18 years of age. The physically handicapped job-seeker has a distinct advantage in terms of finding work over the mentally handicapped person. Moreover, he has been found to be in a more advantageous position than the individual who is not physically handicapped. It was also pointed up that employers tend to be more tolerant in actual practices pertaining to employment than in their expressed opinion. Employers showed no genuine consensus with regard to the importance they placed on education, training, or job experience.

Role theory--Seven meanings of the concept of "role" were assessed in terms of the position it occupied in the work of various authors. This was done in order to provide a set of universal categories for the analysis of the importance of various employer roles in the determination

of his attitudes toward hiring various categories of people and to determine the influence of an employer's role in his hiring policies.

Role, as it is used in this research, refers to the expectations associated with a social status. Thus, it falls into the relational category since it incorporates components of both the normative and positional categories.

A number of other facts related to role theory were clarified. The employer occupies positions in a social organization and his duties in these positions are largely determined by his role. The employer adjusts his behavior to the expectations of others so that the role of employer is partially determined by these expectations. Consequently, much of an employer's role performance is expressed within a framework provided by factors external to him.

Definition of Terms and Variables

Certain terms were utilized which had meanings specific to this study. To facilitate understanding, the following definitions are offered:

- (1) Basic entry jobs--those jobs which are at the lowest point on the occupational ladder.
- (2) Business--any type of social organization that provides a service, sells a product, produces a product or any other enterprise that employs people.
- (3) Employee--a social actor who performs services for an employer and is paid in goods or services.
- (4) Employer--the social actor whose role obligations include the hiring of personnel.
- (5) Hiring policy--the hiring policy of an employer is not necessarily the actual practices he employs. Instead it may be the hiring tactics he professes.

- (6) **Position**--the social identity which a group attributes to a person.
- (7) **Status**--the relative location of a social actor in a heirarchial arrangement in the prestige structure.
- (8) **Underemployment**--this occurs when the job-seeker cannot secure employment commensurate with his skills or when he is working less than full-time but needs full-time work.
- (9) **Unemployment**--there are two types of unemployment: (1) structural and (2) frictional. In structural unemployment there are no jobs available for specific individuals. In frictional unemployment jobs are available but it may take time for the individual to find them.
- (10) **Needs**--the attributes deemed essential to an employer for the continuity or survival of his business.
- (11) **Attitude**--a predisposition to respond to a certain stimuli in a patterned manner.
- (12) **Hiring practices**--the empirical situation which exists with reference to an employer's selection of persons for employment.

Major independent variables used in this research were the employer's age, sex, place of residence, size of firm, and type of business. Dependent variables included employer's attitudes toward hiring various categories of people, importance of neatness and honesty, starting pay scale, highest pay scale, frequency of employee dismissal, and size of firm.

The Interview Instrument

Secured available instruments did not appear to have direct application to the "phenomena" being investigated. A new instrument was developed. After determination of the type of data the action agency

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This section of the study will (1) designate the scope of the study, (2) identify the interview instrument, (3) indicate the method by which data were collected, (4) cite the analysis procedure and, (5) state the research hypotheses.

The Scope of the Study

The universe of this study consisted of employers in the five-county area which is within the jurisdiction of the Inter-Lakes Community Action Program of Madison, South Dakota. The five counties are: Miner, Moody, Brookings, Lake, and Kingsbury. A total of 1,121 businessmen were surveyed which represent slightly more than 90 per cent of the employers in the survey area. This does not include farming businesses, except for trucking. Only those employers whose businesses were located within city limits were selected for respondents. This included both private and public places of employment.

The Interview Instrument

Because available instruments did not appear to have direct application to the "phenomena" being investigated, a new instrument was developed. After determination of the type of data the action agency

required an instrument was devised which incorporated relevant material.

A copy of the instrument is included in Appendix A.

The instrument consists of seven sections:

1. An introductory section assured the respondent of anonymity and outlined the need for the study. It also solicited their cooperation stating its direct relevance to them.
2. Called for personal data from the respondents.
3. Called for characteristics of the businesses.
4. Asked questions related to employer's needs.
5. Solicited information concerning employers' attitudes toward selected classes of persons.
6. Revolved around the employer's knowledge of and attitude toward Manpower Retraining Programs and his knowledge of and attitude toward the unemployed.
7. Made inquiries as to the profit structure of the employer's business.

The Interview Instrument was designed to be self-coding so that the data could be punched directly from the schedule to the IBM cards. The instrument was pretested by administration to fifty persons, none of whom would be among the respondents in the study.

Collection of Data

In arriving at the decision to use an interview schedule rather than a questionnaire, it was recognized that there are weaknesses in both methods of data collection. The questionnaire was less expensive to administer, but its major weaknesses included: the possibility of misinterpretation of questions, possible reluctance of employers to

supply information of a confidential nature, and the likelihood of a low per cent of returns.

The interview instruments' greatest limitation, other than the cost factor, is the likelihood of interviewer bias. Attempts were made to eliminate this bias by carefully assembling a survey staff of ten ex-businessmen from the five-county area. The interviewers received intensive training in the techniques of interviewing which extended over a seven-day period.

As a further precautionary measure the interviewers were in close contact with field supervisors who periodically and consistently checked the schedules for accuracy and legibility. The interviewers were immediately apprised of any irregularities found in the schedules they administered.

To obtain the highest possible amount of valid information, each respondent was contacted individually, usually at the place of employment, was asked for his cooperation, and was questioned by the interviewer in a relatively quiet, isolated place whenever possible. The interviewer assured the respondent of his anonymity and no instrument was signed by the respondent.

Every effort was made to insure that the respondent felt free to complete the schedule without undue influence. When the employer indicated that he was too busy to complete the schedule immediately, an appointment was arranged to collect the data at a later date.

Questions were asked exactly as they appeared on the schedule and in the same order. The last question was related to the employer's net profit. This question was asked last to avoid alienating the respondent

at the outset, which might have injected bias into other sections of the schedule. Unfortunately, responses to the last question were so inadequate as to be of little value.

Analysis Procedure

The data were coded and punched into cards for machine tabulation. Chi-Square analysis was used to test the hypotheses for this study. The .05 level was accepted for statistical significance.

The chapter concerned with the description, analysis and interpretation of data will be divided into five sections. After an introductory statement the sections are:

- I. Selected demographic characteristics of the respondent.
- II. The characteristics of the businesses.
- III. Information on the attitudes of the respondents toward their employment practices.
- IV. Chi-square tests to determine if there are any statistically significant differences between selected demographic characteristics of the employers and their employment policies of the respondents in terms of role theory.
- V. Chi-square tests to determine if there are any statistically significant differences between selected characteristics of the businesses and the employer's hiring policy.

The procedure for presenting the findings involves:

1. A statement of the hypothesis concerning its origin and its relation to the theoretical framework will be presented.

2. The hypothesis stated in the null form for testing will be presented.
3. The results will be presented and discussed.

The following hypotheses were derived from the review of literature to act as a guide in the research. They will be expanded and stated in the null form as the statistical analysis occurs. The research hypotheses are:

Hypothesis A: The age-role of an employer forms, shapes, and patterns his attitudes and his hiring policy.

Hypothesis B: The sex-role of an employer forms, shapes, and patterns his hiring policy and his attitudes.

Hypothesis C: The place of residence of an employer forms, shapes, and patterns his hiring policy and his attitudes.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Introduction

Data available from the interview instrument were analyzed to assess the identifiable characteristics of the respondents and their businesses. Statistical procedures were employed to test the hypotheses. As indicated earlier this chapter is divided into five sections.

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section consists of descriptive information on the respondents of this study. The age and sex composition of employers and their relative distribution between rural and urban areas will be presented.

Age

The largest single category of employers, in terms of their age, were between the ages of 46 and 50. The smallest class of employers were 20 years old or younger.

Table 1 illustrates the proportionate number of respondents by age classes.

Although there were a high number of "no responses" (224) a spot check of the schedules indicated omissions were scattered randomly so the distribution is not distorted. As could be expected the age curve of employers is positively skewed when age is plotted in increasing increments from left to right. The majority (71.80%) of employers are

41 years of age or older. Only 28.20 per cent were younger than forty-one.

TABLE 1
AGE OF RESPONDENT*

Age of Respondent	Frequency	Per cent
20 and Under	6	.67
21-25	23	2.56
26-30	54	6.02
31-35	72	8.03
36-40	98	10.92
41-45	138	15.38
46-50	155	17.28
51-55	114	12.71
56-60	105	11.71
61-65	80	8.92
65 and Over	52	5.80
Total	897	100.00

*In this and the following tables where per cents are used, the per cents are based on the actual N in the respective total, not the total N of the study.

The fact that most employers were over 41 was an expected pattern since some time is required to accumulate the necessary monetary wealth which allows the individual to become the owner of a business. In

instances where the employer was a manager, rather than an owner, time was also essential. One does not become an employer, in most cases, until the associated role is learned. An exception to this may occur when the role potential of employer is transmitted from progenitor to progeny.

Sex

The employers interviewed were predominantly male. Table 2 shows this clearly.

TABLE 2
SEX OF RESPONDENT

Sex of Respondent	Frequency	Per cent
Male	942	85.02
Female	<u>166</u>	<u>14.98</u>
Total	1,108	100.00

Table 2 indicates that slightly more than 85 per cent of the employers were men while nearly 15 per cent were female. This information will be correlated with such variables as type of business in a later section.

Place of Residence

Only businesses within a city limit were polled, but some employers were found to reside in areas outside of the boundaries of a city.

Persons who live in the country or in towns of less than 2,500 population are said to be rural. All others are urban. The rural population may be further divided into (1) rural farm and (2) rural-nonfarm people. Rural farm persons live in the open country on farms while persons living in villages of less than 2,500 or in the open country but not on farms are considered rural-nonfarm.¹

Table 3 shows the place of residence of employers in the survey area following the above definition of rural and urban in slightly modified form.

An additional category was necessitated by the need to discriminate between nonfarm residence in communities with less than 249 inhabitants and other non-farm residence. A sizable per cent (12.62 per cent) of the employers were found to live in such an area.

TABLE 3
PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE EMPLOYER

Place of Residence	Frequency	Per cent
Rural Farm	72	6.68
Rural Nonfarm (population under 249)	136	12.62
Rural Nonfarm (population 250 to 2,499)	445	41.34
Urban (2,500 and over)	<u>424</u>	<u>39.36</u>
Total	1,077	100.00

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 United States Census of Population P-B (41), 1950, pp. iv-vii.

Characteristics of Businesses

This section consists of descriptive information on the businesses in the study area. It has implications for the understanding of unemployment as well as the role of the employer. The concept of role concerns the confluence of the individual and his milieu. Part of the milieu is the work situation or business within which a role is enacted.

Type of Business

More employers (461) were engaged in retail business than in any other. Employers in wholesale, manufacturing, professional and construction businesses represented less than one-half the number involved in retail trade.

A total distribution of business types can be seen in Table 4. The six categories were derived from a preliminary examination of the types of businesses in the survey area.

TABLE 4
TYPE OF BUSINESS

Business Type	Frequency	Per Cent
Retail	461	43.39
Wholesale	33	3.10
Manufacturing	22	2.06
Professional	74	6.96
Construction	40	3.76
Service	433	40.73
Total	1,063	100.00

The large concentration of businesses in the retail and service categories (894 or 84.12 per cent) is due to the fact that the survey area was, in the main, a service center for the agricultural area. This is of some importance for, as Kolb and Brunner have pointed out,² business as conducted by these employers is more than an economic activity. It is social as well. It brings people into contact and offers an opportunity to exchange opinions and news.

Size of Firm

The size of the firm was ascertained by asking "How many people do you employ?" The results are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5
SIZE OF FIRM

Number of People Employed	Frequency	Per Cent
0-5	759	69.90
6-15	226	20.81
16-35	58	5.34
Over 35	43	3.95
Total	1,086	100.00

It is apparent that most of the businesses are relatively small, employing less than 16 people. The majority (69.90 per cent) had a

²J. H. Kolb and Edmund S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1940), pp. 525-526.

work force of five people or less. Of the total number of employers interviewed only 43 had 35 or more employees. Grouping those respondents who had between 16 and 35 workers with those who had more than thirty-five workers accounts for 101 of a total of 1,086 employees.

Number of Part-Time Employees

Table 6 gives the number of part-time employees, i.e., those working between 1 and 39 hours per week, in each firm.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF PART-TIME EMPLOYEES

Per Cent of Part-Time Employees	Frequency
0-10%	463
11-20%	63
21-30%	68
Over 30%	<u>441</u>
Total	1,035

It was of interest to note both of the larger frequencies occurred on the ends of the distribution. This means that 441 firms engage more than 30 per cent of their employees on a part-time basis, while at the same time, 463 firms hire ten per cent or less of their total work force on a part-time basis.

The frequency counts for the per cent of part-time employees were run against frequency counts for type of business and the size of the firm (see Appendix C). The results indicated 189 of the retail businesses polled had between 0 and 10 per cent part-time employees. The same number of businesses, 189, had over 30 per cent part-time employees. The next largest employer of part-time help, service industry, was found to have 177 businesses which had between 0 and 10 per cent part-time help, while 185 firms had over 30 per cent. Only seven manufacturers used less than ten per cent part-time help and only nine maintained a staff consisting of more than 30 per cent part-time staff.

Seasonal Employment

When questioned about the extent of seasonal employment most employers (721) maintained their number of employees was constant throughout the entire year. Table 7 indicates the seasonal fluctuations which did exist.

"All year" is not a season, but its inclusion was essential to accurately gauge if employment was seasonal in nonfarm related businesses located in an agricultural setting. It was not. Well over half (64.28 per cent) of the employees indicated there were no seasonal fluctuations. During the seasons in which variations did occur, summer provided the most jobs followed by winter, fall, and spring in that order.

TABLE 7
EXTENT OF SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

Season of Highest Employment	Frequency	Per Cent
Spring	53	4.94
Summer	167	15.57
Fall	57	5.31
Winter	74	6.90
All Year	<u>721</u>	<u>67.28</u>
Total	1,072	100.00

Starting Pay Scale

Variations in the starting pay scale were more intense. This can be seen in Table 8.

More employers indicated their starting pay scale was between one dollar and one dollar and forty-nine cents than any other category. However, the employers interviewed were very reluctant to give information concerning money. A great deal of care must be exercised when attempting to draw meaningful generalizations from Tables 8 and 9. Table 9 shows the highest pay scale of each employer.

TABLE 8
STARTING PAY SCALE

Starting Pay Rate	Frequency	Per Cent
0-.99	46	4.80
1.00-1.49	421	43.97
1.50-1.99	376	39.24
2.00-2.49	75	7.82
2.50 and Over	40	4.17
Total	958	100.00

Highest Pay Scale

In Tables 8 and 9 the number of no responses was 169 and 258, respectively. This accounts for a sizable percentage of the responses in each case. There was no way of determining whether this was a systematic omission. The tables are included only to give a general idea of the starting and the highest rates of pay. After lengthy discussions with the interviewers on the reasons for the significant number of omissions, it seemed the employers were not desirous of yielding this information because they did not want their workers to know what each other was receiving in the way of pay. Respondents also feared they were violating some law they were unaware of. Intuitively, it would seem there may have been more employers paying lower wages than the above two tables show.

TABLE 9
HIGHEST PAY SCALE

Highest Pay Rate	Frequency	Per Cent
1.50-1.99	347	39.95
2.00-2.49	187	21.51
2.50-2.99	113	13.00
3.00 and Over	<u>222</u>	<u>25.54</u>
Total	869	100.00

The cross total in Table 10 exceeded the total number of respondents because both starting and highest pay rates are included. Then, too, there may be an overlap between companies of the same business type in terms of their pay scales.

The lowest starting pay rate was found to exist in the retail and service firms. The highest was in construction and service. It was interesting to note that while some service businesses had the lowest starting pay rate others had the highest. This pointed up the differences within firms.

When the information related to pay scale was correlated with type of business the following results occurred:

Table 11 presents the results of the findings on fringe benefits.

TABLE 10

PAY SCALE AS INFLUENCED BY BUSINESS TYPE

Bus. Type:	Retail	Wholesale	Manuf.	Prof.	Const.	Serv.	Total
Starting Pay Rate							
0-.99	31	2	1	1	0	10	45
1.00-1.49	223	9	7	22	5	139	405
1.50-1.99	158	15	11	25	16	135	360
2.00-2.49	12	4	3	4	12	38	73
2.50 & Over	4	0	0	1	4	29	38
Highest Pay Rate							
1.50-1.99	181	9	5	13	6	120	334
2.00-2.49	81	8	3	13	8	67	180
2.50-2.99	43	3	6	9	4	42	107
3.00 & Over	<u>68</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>216</u>
Total	801	58	42	103	74	680	1,758

Fringe Benefits

Table 11 presents the results of the findings on fringe benefits.

TABLE 11

FRINGE BENEFITS OFFERED BY EMPLOYERS*

Type of Fringe Benefits	Frequency	Per Cent
Paid Vacation	585	52.18
Sick Leave	434	38.71
Health Insurance	393	35.05
Retirement Plan	200	17.84
Company Stock	48	4.28
Overtime	298	26.58
Discounts	379	33.80
None	221	19.71

*Table 11 presents the various fringe benefits offered by employers (i.e., 585 of the 1,121 respondents--52.18%--indicated they gave a paid vacation).

The fringe benefit offered most frequently was paid vacation. Following paid vacation in order of frequency were: sick leave; health insurance; discounts; overtime; retirement plan; and company stock. Two hundred twenty-one employers offered no fringe benefits. Appendix C shows that the retail firms offered the most fringe benefits while the construction industry offered the least. In terms of real money income, retail business may rank as high as construction even though the starting pay scale is lower.

Whether an employer planned to expand his business or not was only relevant to this study in terms of employment opportunities. Even

a major expansion of the physical plant had little meaning unless a subsequent increase in the number of employees resulted.

Expansion Plans

Expansion plans were derived by asking: "Do you plan on adding more full-time employees to your payroll in 1970?" The results can be seen in Table 12.

It is apparent, from Table 12, that employers did not expect to increase the number of their employees. In the retail and service industries some (89 and 71 respectively) employers had such plans, but even that cannot begin to supply jobs for people who need work.

TABLE 12

EMPLOYERS PLANNING ON EXPANDING THEIR WORK FORCE

Expansion Plans	Frequency	Per Cent
Yes	219	20.54
No	847	79.46
Total	1,066	100.00

Number Of People Who Ask For A Job In A Month

Table 13 shows the number of people who ask for jobs each month.

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ASK FOR A JOB EACH MONTH

Number of Job Requests	Frequency
None	483
1 to 5	516
5 and Over	47

Totals in the above table would be relatively meaningless since each cell represents a total. It does become evident that more jobs are needed. One could safely assume that 751 people ask for a job each month.

In sum: The preceding two sections have provided a description of employers and their businesses. The age, sex, and place of residence of employers were presented. The characteristics of the businesses included: The Type of Business; The Size of the Firm; The Highest Pay Scale; The Lowest Pay Scale; The Number of Part-Time Employees; Seasonal Employment; Fringe Benefits; Expansion Plans--in terms of adding more workers to the staff--; and, The Number of People Who Ask for a Job in a Month.

Information on the Attitudes of Respondents
Toward Their Employment Practices

In order to determine employers' needs, or felt needs, a number of attitudinal questions were asked. The implications for role theory were discussed in the next section of this thesis in which techniques

with more power were applied to the data. It need suffice at this time to mention briefly that the identity of every social actor requires specific social contacts in order to perpetuate itself. It has been presumed that the decision making process involved in hiring certain categories of people will be influenced by the individual's social identity.

The instrument used in this study was not designed to measure actual hiring practices. Empirical validation of employment practices would require obtrusive measurements. The purpose of the action agency was not to alienate employers, but to determine their needs and attitudes.

The first question which sought to determine employers' attitudes toward their hiring practices was: "How important do you consider personality traits such as neatness and honesty?" The results are shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

EMPLOYERS' PERCEPTION OF THE IMPORTANCE
OF PERSONALITY TRAITS

Importance of Traits	Frequency	Per Cent
Absolutely necessary	946	84.50
Desired	127	11.79
Not important	4	3.71
Total	1,077	100.00

The high per cent of response coupled with the high number (946) of respondents who believed personality traits were absolutely necessary supports the contention that some amount of social exchange is involved in an economic transaction. Personality traits were especially essential in retail businesses and in the services. They were deemed far less important in manufacturing.

In reference to skills which employees needed to have, secretarial skills were mentioned most often. Four hundred eighty-one employers said their workers needed to have secretarial skills. Table 15 summarizes various skills employers thought were necessary.

TABLE 15

SKILLS EMPLOYEES NEED TO HAVE FOR EMPLOYMENT*

Specific Skills	Frequency	Per Cent
Masonry	36	3.21
Plumbing	85	7.58
Electrical	131	11.68
Carpentry	90	8.02
Mechanical	388	34.61
Merchandising	437	38.98
Secretarial	481	42.90
Sales	577	51.47
Culinary	129	11.50
Electronical	21	1.87
None	48	4.28

*Table 15 presents the various skills employers indicated their employees need to have (i.e., 36 of the 1,121 respondents--3.21 per cent--require the skill of masonry in their business).

In some cases employees needed to have more than one skill. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes apparent that a clerk in a retail store, as an example, might need to have both merchandising and sales skills. On a construction job the worker might need to have masonry, plumbing, electrical, and mechanical skills. The important point made by Table 15 is that only a very small number of jobs are available which require no skills. This is consistent with the findings in the review of related literature.

A relatively small percentage of the businessmen interviewed had terminated employment for any of their personnel during 1970. Of the 1,121 available responses only 155, or 13.82 per cent, indicated employers had "fired" anyone for that year. Of those who had, lack of competence was foremost.

Table 16 gives the four main reasons for the termination of employment.

TABLE 16

REASONS FOR THE TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Reasons Why Employees Were Fired	Frequency	Per Cent
Personality Traits	54	29.18
Lack of Competence	61	33.00
Decrease of Business	18	9.72
Seasonal Fluctuations	52	28.10
Total	185	100.00

There were some employers who found a number of reasons for dismissing workers. They indicated it was "usually the incompetent person who had a poor personality." Dismissal because of Personality Traits ranked a close second to Lack of Competence. The small discrepancy between the two points up the weaknesses of an approach to unemployment which is one-dimensional.

The importance of personality traits, in the opinion of employers, was further documented by their contention that most of the communities' unemployed people are unemployed because of personal reasons. Six hundred and eleven employers indicated the unemployed did not have jobs because of personal reasons while 356 maintained the reason was a lack of skills. "Lack of Jobs" ranked second with 469 responses (see Appendix B).

The results of employers' attitudes toward hiring people in various age categories can be seen in Table 17.

"No" responses clustered at both ends of the distribution. It is apparent that employers were not desirous of hiring young people or people 59 or more years of age. Instead, they favored people between 23 and 40 for employment purposes.

It was indicated that those looking for work without any specific training or skills were at a distinct disadvantage. Table 18 shows other factors which would contribute to this disadvantage.

TABLE 17

**EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD HIRING PEOPLE
IN VARIOUS AGE CATEGORIES**

Age Categories In Years	Employers' Response	
	Yes	No
14-22	750	181
23-31	948	44
32-40	913	50
41-49	824	97
50-58	678	195
59 and Over	560	281

TABLE 18

**EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD HIRING VARIOUS
CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE**

Would you hire:	Employers' Response	
	Yes	No
American Indians	886	125
People with only an 8th Grade education	815	210
A Person with no experience in the job he wants	836	193
An on-the-job training employee	709	291
A person who is untidy	77	960
A male with very long hair	175	859
A person of questionable honesty	69	978
A physically handicapped person	834	200

If negative responses are an indication of undesirability for employment, the most unsatisfactory trait an individual could have is to be of questionable honesty. This could have been anticipated

because of the large number of respondents who were employers in retail businesses.

The importance of training in particular skills or experience in a job has been stressed as a positive factor in employment. It does not seem to exercise undue influence as a negative factor. Many employers were willing to hire an inexperienced person.

"Tidiness" is also a factor which exerts some influence on employers' attitudes toward hiring people. Employers' responses indicated there was more than a 12 to 1 ratio of unfavorable to favorable attitudes toward an untidy person.

A male with very long hair would be at a distinct disadvantage in terms of providing a favorable impression for employment purposes. In the context of role theory, such an individual would not sustain the identity of the employer. All of the employers surveyed, with few exceptions, showed a somewhat conservative nature in terms of their appearance. Even in those retail businesses in which employees handle a large amount of cash money, physical appearance was found to be almost as important as honesty. Nine hundred and seventy-eight employers indicated they would not hire a person of questionable honesty, while 859 said they would not hire a male with very long hair. A total of 960 respondents showed they were not interested in hiring an individual who was untidy.

The discussion of The Manpower Retraining Act, given previously, showed that an important prerequisite for any retraining program is knowledge of the program. This is borne out by the fact that 291

employers said they would not hire an on-the-job training employee. A total of 957 employers indicated they had never hired a person who had been trained or retrained through a manpower retraining program, while only 45 had such an experience. The majority who had, showed a favorable attitude toward his performance on the job. When employers were asked if they were familiar with the manpower retraining program only 285 gave an affirmative reply. Negative replies were given by 760 employers. A high percentage of the employers (64.85%) indicated they would be willing to assist Community Action Programs in Manpower Retraining.

The majority of employers, as shown by Table 19, do not use employment agencies when seeking employees.

TABLE 19

AGENCIES USED TO SECURE EMPLOYEES

Agencies Used	Frequency	Per Cent
State Employment Agency	258	24.11
Private Employment Agency	38	3.55
No Agency	<u>774</u>	<u>72.34</u>
Total	1,070	100.00

The preponderance of responses plotted in the "No Agency" row tends to confirm the suspicion that jobs are attained through informal means. The notations made in the margins of many schedules indicated

employers were dissatisfied with formal employment agencies. Respondents showed they believed it was only the "down and outers who resorted to using the state employment agencies." The "people with enough gumption and ambition to look for a job" would be the ones they would be willing to employ. Employers wanted a chance to "look them over" thus eliminating "buying a pig in the poke."

Analysis of Differences Between Selected Demographic Characteristics and Hiring Policy

This section is devoted to the determination and analysis of differences between selected characteristics of the employer, his business and hiring policy. The findings of the present investigation in its relation to the theoretical framework of role theory and the review of Related Literature will be presented. As indicated in Chapter III of this study, the procedure for presenting the findings is:

1. A statement of the hypothesis, concerning its origin and its relation to the theoretical framework will be presented.
2. The hypothesis stated in the null form for testing will be presented.
3. The results will be presented and discussed.

The Employer and Hiring Policy

1. Origin of the Hypothesis--A role, is expected behavior associated with a social position. As such, a role is a culturally specified behavior pattern which guides the social actors interaction with classes of social objects. Through time roles become defined in detail.

Wilson³ has shown there are three sorts of categories that contribute to the crystallizing of role. The first are the socially significant biological traits which include age and sex. "Biological attributes having [sic] social meaning because certain expectations as to belief and behavior are typically, or stereotypically linked with them: sex, age, race."

Age

Only two of the biological traits mentioned by Wilson, age and sex, are relevant to this study. They seemed to be crucial in their impact on role definition. Even though age and sex are a culturally universal standard for assigning roles, various roles need to be assigned to different age categories since age is a biological fact. Thus, age influences an individual's role.

A research hypothesis stated that the social role forms, shapes, and patterns the attitude of the actor-employer. A reciprocal relationship between a role and the social actor's age could be expected. If the role does in fact pattern an employer's attitude and if age is a crucial variable in determining role a disparity between the age of an employer and his attitude toward hiring various categories of people would occur.

³Everett K. Wilson, Sociology: Rules, Roles, and Relationships (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1971), pp. 187-188.

2. Null Hypothesis--There is no statistically significant differences between employers of different age groups in their willingness to employ various categories of people.
3. The Findings--To test the hypothesis of no difference chi-square tests were done using age as an independent variable and the responses to each item on the interview schedule as a dependent variable.⁴ Table 20 presents the observed frequencies which occurred as a result of asking the respondent if he would hire people of various ages. The results are presented in toto so the entire distribution can be seen.

A number of writers^{5,6,7,8} contend that it is not possible to apply chi-square tests when the number in any cell is five or less. In

⁴The terms dependent and independent variables are used in the sense that the former refers to a value I wish to explain while the latter represents some casually prior influence. Thus, attitudes need explaining and age is the explicatory element.

⁵Henry E. Garrett, Elementary Statistics (New York: David McKay, 1966), p. 153.

⁶Sanford M. Dornbusch and Calvin F. Schmid, A Primer of Social Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1955), p. 208.

⁷Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy and Tactics (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 298.

⁸Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960), p. 220.

⁹James C. ... "The Chi-Square Correction in the 2² Test," The American Statistician, Vol. 21, No. 4, p. 32.

TABLE 20

AGE OF EMPLOYER AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HIRING
VARIOUS AGE CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE

Age of Respondent	Response	Would you hire people between the ages of:					
		<u>14-22</u>	<u>23-31</u>	<u>32-40</u>	<u>41-49</u>	<u>50-58</u>	<u>59 & Over</u>
20 & Under	Yes	6	5	5	4	4	4
21-25	Yes	21	22	17	14	11	10
26-30	Yes	36	46	45	36	29	23
31-35	Yes	54	67	63	56	49	38
36-40	Yes	60	83	78	73	58	48
41-45	Yes	97	117	118	99	82	68
46-50	Yes	106	134	126	115	93	73
51-55	Yes	74	96	91	84	72	57
56-60	Yes	66	87	88	78	63	53
61-65	Yes	45	64	65	63	58	52
66 & Over	Yes	27	40	42	40	37	32

$$\chi^2 = 18.5033 \quad df = 50 \quad P .995$$

an intensive analysis of chi-square, Grizzle⁹ found cause to disagree.

He maintained that: "When the smallest expected value is less than

⁹James E. Grizzle, "Continuity Correction in the χ^2 Test," The American Statistician, October 1967, Vol. 21, No. 4, p. 32.

5 we would choose χ^2 but with the realization that the resulting test is overly conservative." This would add more strength to the test since the possibility of failing to reject a false hypothesis would be further minimized.

When the age categories of respondents was run against responses to "Would you hire . . ." there was no significant difference found between relatively young employers and their responses.

Discrimination against youth can arise from several causes other than youth per se. It may be a result of failure to meet hiring criteria such as education, experience, clean arrest and conviction records, draft status, or sex. The effect of education on the unemployment rate of youth is shown in Table 21.

One of the major problems of the school dropouts is underemployment. He becomes committed to the labor force before he is eligible for a career job. He competes with students for jobs. The jobs of dropouts tend to be inferior to those of graduates.

The unemployment rate for all youths, as seen in Table 21, decreases with increasing age within each group. By age 20 to 21 for male graduates, the rate is only 4.1 per cent. The lack of difference in unemployment rates between male graduates and male dropouts for 16 to

TABLE 21

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES
NOT ENROLLED IN COLLEGE AND OF SCHOOL,
BY AGE AND SEX

	High School Graduate			School Dropouts		
	Number (thous)	Labor Force Participa- tion Rate	Unemploy- ment Rate	Number (thous)	Labor Force Participa- tion Rate	Unemploy- ment Rate
Male						
16 & 17 yrs.	53	62.3	18.2	298	75.5	19.6
18 & 19	800	88.5	8.3	546	88.6	8.5
20 & 21	810	94.3	4.1	510	93.9	7.5
Female						
16 & 17 yrs.	139	61.9	12.8	305	36.1	38.2
18 & 19	1,584	71.1	12.3	618	41.9	14.3
20 & 21	1,672	65.1	9.6	601	36.4	12.8

Source: Hugh Folk, "Youth Unemployment," University of Illinois Bulletin, No. 202, Volume 66, 1969.

17 and 18 to 19 years old indicates that finishing high school has been overexaggerated for employment. It is more likely to be in the earnings of dropouts that graduation becomes significant. Among boys there is not a substantial difference between dropouts and high school graduates in labor force participation. For girls, however, the graduates have much higher participation rates.

Inexperience may also be a factor worthy of consideration. The effects of inexperience is shown clearly in the lower unemployment rates of the experienced teenage workers. Experienced boys 16 to 19

years old have an unemployment rate of 7.4 per cent. The total rate for this age group is 11.7 per cent.¹⁰ Almost one-half of the unemployment of youth in 1966 was experienced by people looking for jobs who had never held a job before.¹¹

There is a concentration of youths in those jobs that characteristically have high unemployment rates, such as laborers, service workers, and operatives. This is also related to the relatively high rates of unemployment among experienced youth. Consequently, it is not age itself but factors normally associated with age that influence an employer's decision to hire.

Table 22 gives a clear notion of employers' attitudes toward hiring an ethnic minority.

The high chi-square value in Table 22 indicates the difference between an employer's age and his attitude toward hiring American Indians is not a chance phenomenon. The preponderance of affirmative replies (709) shows that employers have little bias toward hiring American Indians in the survey area. Instead, the larger social system in which the Indian operates may be the subject of discrimination.

This extends the level of analysis beyond the individual and toward the social system. Recognition of the system's elements is

¹⁰Hugh Folk, "Youth Unemployment," University of Illinois Bulletin, No. 202, Vol. 66, 1969.

¹¹Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1967.

TABLE 22
WOULD YOU HIRE AMERICAN INDIANS?

Employer's Age	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
20 and Under	6	0	6
21-25	21	1	22
26-30	41	6	47
31-35	61	4	65
36-40	86	7	93
41-45	115	14	129
46-50	125	16	141
51-55	88	11	99
56-60	78	18	96
61-65	57	14	71
66 and Over	31	13	44
Total	709	104	813

$$\chi^2 = 25.2275$$

d.f. = 10

P .001

thus a precondition for understanding employers' hiring policies.

The influence of the education of the job seeker on employers' attitudes can be seen in Table 23.

Because the significance level was set at .05, the null hypothesis could not be rejected on the basis of the findings of Table 23. This means a value this large or larger for chi-square could be obtained 30 times in 100 trials or close to chance.¹²

¹²Blalock, op. cit., p. 219.

TABLE 23

WOULD YOU HIRE PEOPLE WITH ONLY
AN 8TH GRADE EDUCATION?

Employer's Age	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
20 and Under	5	1	6
21-25	14	8	22
26-30	38	11	49
31-35	54	13	67
36-40	76	16	92
41-45	104	25	129
46-50	123	23	146
51-55	88	17	105
56-60	82	12	94
61-65	58	16	74
66 and Over	<u>39</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>44</u>
Total	681	147	828

$$\chi^2 = 10.4953$$

$$d.f. = 10$$

$$P > .30$$

The influence of education has been noted earlier in order to show that a job-seeker's age alone is not of decisive influence. The results of this data tend to refute the notion that education has been over-exaggerated as far as the employers' attitudes are concerned. It is in fact quite important.

Table 24 indicates there is not a significant difference between the age of an employer and whether he has a favorable attitude toward hiring inexperienced workers.

TABLE 24

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WITH NO EXPERIENCE
IN THE JOB HE WANTS?

Employer's Age	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
20 and Under	4	2	6
21-25	15	7	22
26-30	40	10	50
31-35	58	10	68
36-40	79	13	92
41-45	109	20	129
46-50	124	22	146
51-55	84	20	104
56-60	72	21	93
61-65	53	19	72
66 and Over	33	12	45
Total	671	156	827

$$\chi^2 = 13.0183$$

$$d.f. = 10$$

$$P .20$$

The role of the employer is shaped by the overall aim of the business which is generally rational-efficiency. When profit is the primary aim of the employer's role, he may achieve this by the manipulation of a system of production. The system of production consists of technology and social organization and both shape the employer's role. Social organization being in part a merging of social actors into ordered social relationships the employer's role dictates that he hire individuals who possess the proper skills for the performance of the job at hand. This does not mean that the employer must secure personnel who are already trained in precisely those skills which are required in a specific role. Apparently, the age of the employer does not influence his attitude toward the experience of the job-seeker.

Adequate employees, from the point of view of the employer, should also have personality characteristics which are commensurate with the goals of the business. Table 25 shows the importance employers place on personality traits such as neatness and honesty.

The very low numbers in the cells of column four confirm Grizzle's hypothesis that cells which contain a frequency of five or less cause the chi-square value to be overly conservative. The total observed frequencies for column four only total three, yet the chi-square value of 10.3820 would indicate attitudes toward personality factors are not influenced by the respondent's age. This would be true because the great majority of employers of all age categories said personality

TABLE 25

IMPORTANCE OF PERSONALITY TRAITS SUCH
AS NEATNESS AND HONESTY

Employer's Age	Absolutely Necessary	Desired	Not Important	Total
20 and Under	5	1	0	6
21-25	20	1	1	22
26-30	49	3	0	52
31-35	62	9	0	71
36-40	84	10	1	95
41-45	121	14	0	135
46-50	135	16	0	151
51-55	97	10	1	108
56-60	88	14	0	102
61-65	66	12	0	78
66 and Over	<u>43</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>47</u>
Total	770	94	3	867

$$\chi^2 = 10.3820 \quad \text{d.f.} = 20 \quad P .95$$

traits were important. In fact 770 employers deemed such traits absolutely necessary while only 94 maintained they were desired. Only 3 employers of the 867 interviewed said personality traits were "Not Important." This would tend to indicate that any retraining program should incorporate aspects which would focus directly on the presentation of a favorable image for job-seekers.

The high importance placed on personality traits can be seen in Table 25. Yet, both The Manpower Retraining Act and The Area Redevelopment Act are oriented almost exclusively to the acquisition of skills by the unemployed. The importance of personality traits may be partly due to the informal social relationships which exist in any social system including a business enterprise. The relationship between an employer and an employee is usually more than a simple economic transaction. Such a relationship involves emotional attitudes on the part of both employer and the employee. The informal nature of the relationship tends to mitigate the effective neutrality of the employer's role so he will select employees who will sustain his role identity rather than on a pure profit motive.

Table 26 does not support the hypothesis that there is a significant difference between an employer's age and his attitude toward hiring various categories of people.

Direction cannot be determined on the basis of chi-square but it becomes apparent after close examination of the above figures that employers are not especially interested in hiring a male with very long hair. The first copy of the interview instrument sought to determine employers' attitudes toward hiring the "hippie type" of person. This terminology was changed because the wording was imprecise and did not call forth consistent symbols. There was a great deal of variation between what individuals thought the terms "hippie type" referred to.

TABLE 26

WOULD YOU HIRE A MALE WITH VERY LONG HAIR;
BY AGE OF EMPLOYER

Employer's Age	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
20 and Under	2	4	6
21-25	7	15	22
26-30	8	40	48
31-35	15	54	69
36-40	15	79	94
41-45	19	112	131
46-50	16	128	144
51-55	14	89	103
56-60	12	85	97
61-65	12	63	75
66 and Over	<u>2</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>44</u>
Total	122	711	833

$$\chi^2 = 15.5643 \quad d.f. = 10 \quad P > .10$$

Nevertheless, Table 26 does point up the fact that far more employers would not hire a male with very long hair than would.

Of a total of 833 responses 711 were "No" while 122 were "Yes." When responses in rows are analyzed the same pattern occurs. In every

case the majority of responses fall in the "No" cell. In the employer's age category of 20 and Under there are two "No" responses for each "Yes" response. In the 26 to 30 age bracket the ratio is 5 to 1 in favor of "No"; more than 9 to 1 in the 46 to 50 age group and 21 to 1 in the 66 and Over age group.

The fact that chi-square analysis did not show a statistically significant difference between employer's age and his attitude toward hiring a male with very long hair probably results from a consensus of opinions. Employers in all age categories were opposed.

Employers were much more favorably disposed toward hiring the physically handicapped although no statistically significant differences occurred between employer's age and their policy toward hiring this category of employees.

Table 27 shows the opinion of employers of all age classifications toward hiring the physically handicapped.

The probability of getting a chi-square value of 7.8698 or smaller, with ten degrees of freedom, when employers of various ages are asked whether they would hire a handicapped person is fifty times in one hundred trials, purely a chance occurrence. Thus, attitudes toward hiring the handicapped do not tend to be influenced by the age of employers except by chance.

When the following table is compared to the table immediately preceding it, the differences are striking. The situation has nearly reversed itself. While only 112 employers would hire a male with very long hair, 660 indicated they would be willing to hire a physically

TABLE 27

WOULD YOU HIRE A PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED PERSON?

Employer's Age	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
20 and Under	6	0	6
21-25	16	6	22
26-30	38	13	51
31-35	56	10	66
36-40	75	17	92
41-45	101	28	129
46-50	114	30	144
51-55	87	16	103
56-60	74	25	99
61-65	59	17	76
66 and Over	<u>34</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>45</u>
Total	660	173	833

$$\chi^2 = 7.8698 \quad d.f. = 10 \quad P .50$$

handicapped person. The total N for both cases was 833. Seven hundred and eleven respondents said they would not hire a male with very long hair and only 173 would not hire a physically handicapped person.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, the hypothesis of no statistically significant difference between an employer's age and his attitude toward hiring various categories of people could not be rejected. No such difference was apparent between the age of employers and attitude toward hiring: (1) American Indians; (2) people with only an eighth grade education; (3) a person with no experience in the job he wants; (4) a male with very long hair; (5) a physically handicapped person. Nor was any statistically significant difference found between an employer's age and his attitude toward the importance of personality traits such as neatness and honesty. In nine of the ten age classes of employers, differences were found between "Yes" and "No" responses to the question dealing with the age of job seekers.

Age was found to have little effect on the role of employers in terms of their professed hiring policy. Age was not a crucial independent variable.

Sex

1. Origin of Hypothesis--The second biological attribute thought to have an influence on role definition was sex. Bierstedt¹³ contends that no society has similar norms or similar statuses for the two sexes; no society treats men and women alike; men and women do not

¹³Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order; An Introduction to Sociology, 2nd Ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), p. 353.

engage in identical activities; pursue identical goals similarly; share identical aspirations; they think, act, and dress differently.

James C. Brown¹⁴ explored the idea that the cultural worlds of males and females in contemporary American society have a dysjunction which is greater than that between any other pairs of statuses. He found that sex-roles are important factors in role definition and are an exclusive status "more durable, more pervasive, and more universal than any other."¹⁵ Age and race may be almost as visible as sex, but they lack the typing according to clothing, behavior, and even naming.

The cluster of female roles deeply influences the female's behavior and attitudes. A primary source of role definition is the commonly held expectations of performance which are appropriate to a status. The role incumbent is, therefore, a focus of a set of expectations common to most members of the group. The group has different expectations for the status of male and female.

The second research hypothesis (hypothesis B) indicated sex-role shapes, patterns, and forms the hiring policy and the attitude of the employer. A variation in sex should, therefore, manifest a disparity in attitudes. Sex is an important factor in role definition which is a significant element in the formation of attitudes.

¹⁴James C. Brown, "An Experiment in Role-Taking," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (Oct. 1952), p. 588.

¹⁵Ibid.

2. Null Hypothesis--There is no statistically significant difference between the sex status of employers in their willingness to hire various categories of people.
3. The findings on statistically significant differences between the independent variables (sex) and the dependent variables (attitudes) are presented in the following 11 tables.

It can be seen from Table 28 that there was little difference between sex status and attitudes toward hiring American Indians.

TABLE 28
WOULD YOU HIRE AMERICAN INDIANS?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	749	101	850
Female	127	24	151
Total	876	125	1,001

$$\chi^2 = 1.8883 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1 \quad P > .10$$

Of a total of 1,001 respondents, 876 said they would be willing to hire American Indians and 125 said they would not. The low chi-square value would show the responses in Table 28 could occur ten times in 100 trials. Because the significance level was set at .05 the hypothesis of no difference could not be rejected.

A similar set of responses occurred in reference to educational attainment as can be seen in Table 29.

TABLE 29

WOULD YOU HIRE PEOPLE WITH ONLY
AN 8TH GRADE EDUCATION?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	692	173	865
Female	<u>115</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>151</u>
Total	807	209	1,016

$$x^2 = 1.1608 \quad d.f. = 1 \quad P .20$$

Low educational attainment as measured by school years completed was a major obstacle faced by the job-seekers. But, it did not seem to be influenced by the sex status of the employer. Part of the adverse impact which low schooling has on the unemployed may be unwarranted because it involves an excessive emphasis on the value of schooling for job performance.¹⁶ This is especially true for the basic entry positions in manual labor jobs.

¹⁶Walter Fogel, "The Effects of Low Educational Attainment on Incomes: A Comparative Study of Selected Ethnic Groups," Journal of Human Resources (Fall, 1966), pp. 22-40.

Very little empirical evidence on the relation of schooling to job performance has been accumulated. Fogel¹⁷ contended that if school requirements which employers impose on applicants for skilled manual jobs were the same as the schooling actually needed for successful job performance then the low schooling of minority groups would distribute them among skilled laborers in inverse order to the level of schooling actually needed for these jobs. In other words, if the schooling employers thought was essential was actually essential the lack of schooling an individual had would cause incompetence in terms of role performance. However, the correlation obtained by Fogel, between proportions of minority group employment and the schooling judged by The Bureau of Employment Security Experts to be necessary for adequate occupational role performance was zero.¹⁸

Two types of prejudgement may influence the hiring practices of employers. One occurs when an adverse judgement about the role performance of a job-seeker is made from a personality characteristic which might not be a good predictor of role performance. The second occurs when a preference for not employing members of a recognizable group influences hiring decisions. Both types of prejudgement may

¹⁷Walter Fogel, "Labor Market Obstacles to Minority Job Gains," Institute of Industrial Relations, Reprint No. 187, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 4.

occur without regard to the economic productivity of the job-seekers.

The second type of prejudgement (that directed against recognizable groups) was more evident in the survey area. This can be seen in Table 30.

TABLE 30

WOULD YOU HIRE A MALE WITH VERY LONG HAIR?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	151	715	866
Female	<u>21</u>	<u>138</u>	<u>159</u>
Total	172	853	1,025

$$x^2 = 1.7204 \quad d.f. = 1 \quad P .10$$

A few qualifying comments are in order, however. It is obvious that discrimination against a recognizable group did occur, but not without regard to the economic productivity of the worker. In this population economic productivity was quite important. Of the total of 1,025 employers who responded almost 900 were engaged in retail businesses or in rendering a service. It is highly likely that the employment of people from this group would be detrimental to business. A number of employers in such retail businesses as service stations made the editorial comment that they could not allow long haired male members of their immediate family to perform services on their

customer's automobiles because of adverse customer reaction. Thus, their attitudes toward hiring certain categories of people had a reality base in prior experience.

An example of the first type of prejudgement (an adverse judgement about the role performance of a job-seeker made from a personal characteristic which might not be a good predictor of role performance) would be discrimination based on the untidy appearance of a job-seeker.

Table 31 shows the importance of neatness to employers of either sex.

TABLE 31

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WHO IS UNTIDY?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	70	799	869
Female	<u>6</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>159</u>
Total	76	952	1,028

$$\chi^2 = 3.5999 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1 \quad P .05 \text{ but } .10$$

The probability of this pattern of responses occurring was actually between the .05 level and the .10 level. The chi-square level of 3.5999 was probably due to the disparity between the expected and observed frequency in the "Yes" and "No" columns rather than the

differences attributable to the responses given by males and females. The expected frequencies were: cell (a) 64.25; cell (b) 804.75; cell (c) 11.75; and, cell (d) 147.25. Thus, females would be expected to answer "Yes" over 66 per cent more often than the observed frequencies showed. Males, on the other hand, would be expected to answer "Yes" 7.6 times less than they did.

Employers' attitudes toward hiring people with no experience in the job they want cannot be categorized into either type of pre-judgemental classification. Lack of specific experience can have an adverse effect on the individual's role performance. Not all inexperienced people exhibit homogeneous traits and inexperience may be a good predictor of role performance. Nevertheless, there was no statistically significant difference between the sex of an employer and attitudes toward hiring an inexperienced person. This is clearly shown by Table 32.

The relatively low chi-square value would not allow for rejection of the null hypothesis. The difference in response could very well be due to chance. Most of the males (705 out of 864) and most of the females (121 out of 155) said they would be willing to hire a person without specific experience.

The only question which drew out a stronger consensus of opinion than the one which asked about a male with very long hair dealt with

TABLE 32

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WITH NO EXPERIENCE
IN THE JOB HE WANTS?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	705	159	864
Female	<u>121</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>155</u>
Total	826	193	1,019

$$\chi^2 = 1.0683 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1 \quad P .30$$

the honesty of the job-seeker. Table 33 presents the responses to the question, "Would you hire a person of questionable honesty?"

TABLE 33

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON OF QUESTIONABLE HONESTY?

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	56	823	879
Female	<u>13</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>159</u>
Total	69	969	1,038

$$\chi^2 = 0.7071 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1 \quad P .30$$

The preponderance of negative replies tended to be indicative of the fact that neither male nor female employers are willing to hire a person of questionable honesty. Honesty was found to be more important as a hiring criterion than any other standard.

In order to check on the responses to the questions dealing with honesty and untidiness, a question was asked which combined the two. Table 34 gives the results.

TABLE 34

HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU CONSIDER PERSONALITY TRAITS
SUCH AS NEATNESS AND HONESTY?

Sex of Respondents	Response		
	Absolutely Necessary	Desired	Not Important
Male	786	113	4
Female	<u>153</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	939	124	6

$$\chi^2 = 6.0594 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad P .02$$

The overly conservative chi-square value can be attributed to the low frequencies of the "Not Important" column. If there had been a great disparity between responses plotted in Table 34 and those in Tables 33 and 31 there would have been cause to question the validity

of the presumed importance of honesty. Since no such disparity occurred the importance of honesty as a hiring determinant is highly regarded by employers.

Thus far two of the tables which dealt with the sex status of employers, in terms of their hiring practices, were found to have a chi-square value of sufficient size to cause the null hypothesis to be rejected at the .05 level. High values occurred with greater frequency when the sex status of the employer was used as the independent variable and selected characteristics of the business were used as dependent variables.

The highest chi-square value in this category appeared for sex status and starting pay scale.

TABLE 35

STARTING PAY SCALE AND SEX OF RESPONDENT

Sex of Respondent	Starting Pay Scale					Total
	0-.99	1.00-1.49	1.50-1.99	2.00-2.49	2.50& Over	
Male	34	326	344	66	37	807
Female	<u>12</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>145</u>
Total	46	420	373	73	40	952

$$\chi^2 = 40.5412 \quad d.f. = 4 \quad P .001$$

The assumption can be made that the high chi-square value was due to the difference between an employer's sex status and the starting pay of that business. Moreover, an examination of differences between expected and observed frequencies showed that the greatest differences occurred in the female rows.

Statistically significant differences also occurred between sex status and the highest pay scale offered.

TABLE 36
HIGHEST PAY SCALE AND SEX OF RESPONDENT

Sex of Respondent	Highest Pay Scale				Total
	1.50- 1.99	2.00- 2.49	2.50- 2.99	3.00& Over	
Male	281	168	99	196	744
Female	<u>66</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>118</u>
Total	347	185	113	217	862

$$\chi^2 = 14.6347 \quad d.f. = 3 \quad P < .01$$

The chi-square value of 14.6347 on a two by four table with three degrees of freedom indicates there is a significant difference between the sex status of employers and the highest pay scale of their business. There was no such difference between sex status and size of the firm nor between sex status and the number of employees who were

"fired." Table 37 shows the chi-square value found when Sex of Respondent and answers to the question, "Did you terminate employment for any employees during 1969?" were compared.

TABLE 37

SEX OF EMPLOYER AND FREQUENCY OF EMPLOYEE DISMISSAL

Sex of Respondent	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Male	133	762	895
Female	<u>21</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>162</u>
Total	154	903	1,057

$$\chi^2 = 0.3967 \quad \text{d.f.} = 1 \quad P .50$$

The above table indicates that responses of that intensity could be expected in eight of ten trials. Consequently, the difference between the sex of the employer and whether employment was terminated for an employee was a chance phenomenon not a result of sex role differentials.

Sex status did not seem to be an indicator of size of firm. Table 38 points this up clearly.

TABLE 38

SEX OF RESPONDENT AND SIZE OF FIRM

Sex of Respondent	Number of Employees				Total
	0-5	6-15	16-35	Over 35	
Male	628	195	52	35	910
Female	<u>125</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>165</u>
Total	753	223	57	42	1,075

$$\chi^2 = 4.2003 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P .20$$

Over one-half of the firms involved in the survey were relatively small, employing five or fewer people. However, no statistically significant difference was found between an employer's sex status and the size of the firm as measured by the number of employees.

On the basis of the analysis of the role of sex in the determination of an employer's attitude toward hiring various categories of people, the null hypothesis could not be rejected. In six of the tests undertaken, no statistically significant difference was found to exist between the sex of an employer and professed hiring practices. In one a difference was found to exist but this was barely significant.

When the employer's sex was used as the independent variable and selected structural characteristics of the firm were used as the independent variables statistically significant differences occurred in

two of the four tests. Differences were found between the respondent's sex status and both the starting and highest pay scales. No significant difference was found to exist between an employer's sex and the size of the firm or between the same independent variable and the frequency with which the jobs of employees were terminated.

The foregoing analysis indicates that sex role is subservient to employer-role. If this were not true, differences between the sex of the respondent and attitudes toward hiring various categories of people would have shown a disparity. Sex-role was not found to play an important part in the determination of hiring practices.

Place of Residence

Sorokin and Zimmerman¹⁹ have proposed a composite definition of rural and urban based on eight criteria. The eight criteria are: occupation, environment, size of community, density of population, heterogeneity and homogeneity of the population, social differentiation and stratification, mobility, and system of interaction. They contend that no single element or uni-causal definition will suffice to differentiate between the rural and urban worlds. In a discussion of these differences, they point up a disparity between the socio-psychical characteristics of the two groups but refute the notion of any intelligence differences between them.

¹⁹Pitrim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), pp. 56-57.

Kolb and DeBrunner²⁰ have noticed differences between rural and urban people in terms of: co-operative attitudes; religious attitudes; and social attitudes.

More recently, Robert C. Bealer et al.²¹ have evaluated some of the theoretical and practical consequences of using the concept of "rural" to refer to the "various substantive components that have historically been subsumed under the term."²² They found the occupational, ecological, and sociocultural components of "rural" to be deficient in terms of providing a precise meaning for the concept. What they have advocated is a composite definition which utilizes all three components.

The underlying assumption of Bealer et al and Sorokin and Zimmerman is that there is a difference between rural and urban residents in terms of their socio-cultural or socio-psychological characteristics. Thus, there would be attitudinal differences between the two categories. Place of residence, as it affects attitudes, has implications for role theory.

²⁰J. H. Kolb and Edmund DeBrunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes.

²¹Robert C. Bealer, Fern K. Willits, and William P. Kuvleshy, "The Meaning of Rurality in American Society," Rural Sociology, Vol. 30, No. 3 (September 1965), pp. 255-266.

²²Ibid., p. 257.

Research hypothesis C indicated that the place of residence of an employer shapes, patterns, and forms his hiring policy and his attitudes. Place of residence, as an independent variable would be expected to influence the dependent variables of hiring policy.

2. Null Hypothesis--There is no statistically significant difference between employers of different places of residence in their willingness to hire various categories of people.

3. The Findings--The procedure used to determine if there was any significant difference between an employer's place of residence and attitudes toward hiring various categories of people was essentially the same as was used to determine differences between age, sex, and attitudes. Chi-square tests were done in which place of residence was the independent and attitudes the dependent variable. However, only those tests with relevancy to role theory are presented.

An individual's role is formed primarily through social interaction. A quantitative difference in the system of social interaction could be a result of the differences in social interaction between the urban and rural aggregates. Since the smaller communities are less densely populated, it is to be expected that the frequency of contact with different people would be smaller. The choice of employees would be more limited and the employers could be expected to be more limiting

in terms of their selection procedures. The evidence in Table 39 supports this conclusion.

A significant difference was found between Place of Residence and an employer's attitude towards hiring American Indians. The largest number of all employers (859) showed that they would be willing to hire American Indians. Only 122 indicated they would not. A total of 353 employers who lived in a community of over 2,500 population answered "Yes" and 32 answered "No." Those residing in towns between 250-2,499 in size answered "Yes" 340 times and had 60 negative responses.

TABLE 39

WOULD YOU HIRE AMERICAN INDIANS?

Place of Residence	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Rural Farm	62	8	70
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	104	22	126
250-2,499	340	60	400
Over 2,500	<u>353</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>385</u>
Total	859	122	981

$$\chi^2 = 11.4147 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P .001$$

The employers who answered "No" may not have done so because of ethnic discrimination. Ten per cent of American Indians over age 14

have had no schooling at all. Nearly 60 per cent have less than an eighth grade education. Half of the American Indian children do not finish high school today.²³

In order to extricate the significance of education a chi-square test was done in which education was used as the dependent variable.

Table 40 gives the results.

TABLE 40

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WITH ONLY
AN 8TH GRADE EDUCATION?

Place of Residence	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Rural Farm	54	16	70
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	112	16	128
250-2,499	327	78	405
Over 2,500	<u>296</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>389</u>
Total	789	203	992

$$\chi^2 = 8.4293 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P .02$$

If a low chi-square had been found by the computations for Table 40, the proposition that education rather than ethnicity is

²³"The Education of American Indians," Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, November 1969, Vol. 4, 91st Congress, 1st Session, p. 854.

important in the determination of hiring policy would have been untenable. The difference between place of residence and attitudes toward hiring both American Indians and people with a minimal amount of formal academic education tends to indicate that place of residence is important in attitude formation.

The statistical difference between place of residence and employer's attitudes toward inexperience was not as great. More employers were willing to hire an inexperienced person than were willing to hire a person with limited schooling. This can be seen when Table 41 is compared to Table 40.

TABLE 41

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WITH NO EXPERIENCE
IN THE JOB HE WANTS?

Place of Residence	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Rural Farm	50	21	71
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	105	21	126
250-2,499	331	75	406
Over 2,500	<u>325</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>395</u>
Total	811	187	998

$$\chi^2 = 6.1204 \quad d.f. = 3 \quad P > .10$$

Of the total of 998 responses in Table 41, 811 were affirmative while only 187 were negative. Most employers were willing to hire an

inexperienced person. Employers in the Rural Farm category seemed to place more emphasis on experience than any other category of employers. The ratio of "No" to "Yes" was higher in this category than any other. The chi-square value of 6.1204 does not equal or exceed the significance level of .05.

A relatively low chi-square value was also found when Place of Residence was run against attitudes toward untidiness. Table 42 gives the results.

TABLE 42

WOULD YOU HIRE A PERSON WHO IS UNTIDY?

Place of Residence	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Rural Farm	9	62	71
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	9	116	125
250-2,499	27	391	418
Over 2,500	<u>29</u>	<u>362</u>	<u>391</u>
Total	74	931	1,005

$$\chi^2 = 3.4453 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P .30$$

A comparison of the two tables above gives a clear indication that employers believe personal characteristics are more important than job experience. Of the 1,005 employers questioned 931 said they would

not hire a person who is untidy. The low chi-square value is probably attributable to this consensus.

The large number of "No" responses would be understandable if only businesses such as retail or service firms were represented. Included in the total N, however, are manufacturing and construction which generally do not entail face-to-face contact with the customer.

Respondents from all Places of Residence were generally opposed to hiring people who are untidy. Place of Residence is not the casually prior influence which determines the employer's attitude. The same thing could not be said for their attitudes toward hiring a male with very long hair. The high chi-square value in Table 43 would indicate there is a statistically significant difference between place of residence and employer's attitude towards hiring a male with very long hair.

TABLE 43

WOULD YOU HIRE A MALE WITH VERY LONG HAIR?

Place of Residence	Response		Total
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Rural Farm	13	58	71
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	24	104	128
250-2,499	46	372	418
Over 2,500	<u>80</u>	<u>304</u>	<u>384</u>
Total	163	838	1,001

$$\chi^2 = 15.1605 \quad d.f. = 3 \quad P .001$$

The responses in Table 43 were similar to those in the table immediately preceding it in some respects. Both show employers were not desirous of hiring certain categories of individuals. Yet, the chi-square values differ substantially. This difference appears to be a result of the disparity between attitudes within the independent variables. In Table 43 more employers from each place of residence manifested less unfavorable attitudes toward the respective category of individuals. Respondents who lived in the rural nonfarm areas with less than 249 population were more often willing to hire a male with very long hair than they were to hire a person characterized as untidy. So, too, with employers who lived in the rural farm, in areas with 250-2,499 population and in urban areas of more than 2,500 people. A total of 89 employers more were willing to hire a male with very long hair than would hire a person who is untidy.

Results of the question which sought to measure attitudes toward personality traits are summarized in Table 44.

When a range from Absolutely Necessary to Not Important was established the responses did not vary a great deal from the responses of the questions asked individually. Such traits as neatness and honesty which sustain the self-interpretations of the employer as a neat and honest person are of overriding importance as a determinant of hiring policy; more important, in fact, than job experience.

TABLE 44

HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU CONSIDER PERSONALITY TRAITS
SUCH AS NEATNESS AND HONESTY?

Place of Residence	Response			Total
	Absolutely Necessary	Desired	Not Important	
Rural Farm	59	13	0	72
Rural Non-Farm Under 249	113	18	1	132
250-2,499	386	44	3	433
Over 2,500	<u>358</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>405</u>
Total	916	122	4	1,042

$$\chi^2 = 7.6302 \quad d.f. = 6 \quad P > .20$$

A total of 1,038 employers indicated such personality traits were absolutely necessary or desired. Only four thought they were not important. This was consistent with the results of Table 42 which pointed up the lack of respondents who were willing to hire an untidy person.

When Starting Pay Scale, Highest Pay Scale, Fringe Benefits, and Size of Firm were analyzed in terms of the Place of Residence of the employer, very high chi-square values were found (see Appendix D). In each case the chi-square value was well beyond the .001 level. Thus, there was a statistically significant difference between place of

residence and each of the aforementioned variables. This difference was quite obviously not attributable to chance.

In reference to the difference between Place of Residence and starting hourly pay scale, few generalizations could be made. Most pay scales were grouped below the 2.00 to 2.49 level. Of the total of 927 respondents who answered this question 817 had a starting pay scale of less than two dollars per hour. Forty-three had a starting pay scale of 0-.99, 413 paid between 1.00-1.49, and 361 paid between 1.50-1.99 for starting employees. Only 72 paid between 2.00-2.49 and 38 paid 2.50 or over. The difference could be a result of the large disparity between pay scales instead of a result of place of residence.

The same condition held true for Highest Pay Scale. The clustering of responses toward a few columns caused a very high chi-square. In this case responses were primarily toward the low end of higher pay. A total of 605 employers' highest hourly pay rate was 2.49 or below. In the categories of 2.50 to 2.99 and 3.00 and over, 252 employers' responses were placed.

There was also an exceptionally high difference between Place of Residence and the fringe benefits offered by employers. Although chi-square cannot indicate direction the difference does not appear to be due to place of residence. A great disparity between expected and observed frequency, which is the basis for chi-square, was found in the row in which the responses of employers who resided in places with a population of over 2,500 were plotted. The expected frequencies were lower for Paid Vacation, Retirement Plan, Health Insurance, and Company Stock.

The chi-square value obtained for Place of Residence and Size of Firm, using number of employees as the criterion for size of firm, was 88.1821 which is far beyond a significance level of .001 with nine degrees of freedom. Again the difference does not seem to be attributable to Place of Residence but to groupings along one column of cells. A total of 738 businesses had between 0 to 5 employees while 40 had 35 and over. There were 219 firms with between 6-15 employees while 40 had between 16-35. As a result the distribution is skewed to the left.

Selected Characteristics of the Businesses and Employers' Hiring Policy

Introduction

An analysis of differences between selected characteristics of businesses and employers' hiring policy can allow for an understanding of factors which underlie frictional underemployment and frictional unemployment. In a labor market in which there is one suitable job for each unemployed person, it would take time for the worker to find the job. The unemployment or underemployment which occurred while the individual looked for the job is frictional unemployment.

Those persons who can find neither suitable jobs, nor jobs of any kind, regardless of the amount of search they undergo are called structurally unemployed. This type of unemployment has been attributed to problems such as a slow growth of available jobs or a closing of jobs such as occurred in Appalachia when companies discontinued coal mining operations.

The primary causes of frictional unemployment are lack of information and insufficient vocational guidance.²⁴ The practical purpose of this part of the study is to provide information to alleviate frictional unemployment. This will allow the job-seeker to "know what to look for."

One characteristic of businesses which can be readily ascertained by the job-seeker is the size of the firm. He can relate this to his own attributes to determine the chances for employment. Table 45 shows responses the individual could expect from firms of various sizes.

Larger firms, especially those who employ 35 or more people, were more concerned with a job-seeker's age. The ratio of "No" responses was somewhat higher in that category.

It also appeared as though job-seekers who are 59 years old or older are at a disadvantage regardless of the size of the firm. When the younger age groups were compared to the oldest the latter seem to be viewed as being less desirable for employment from the employer's perspective.

The age groups which were seen as the most desirable were the 23 to 31 and the 32 to 40.

Frictional unemployment or underemployment presents less of a problem for the young job-seeker than for old. In 1966, between three-fifths and seven-eighths of teenage unemployment was attributable to initial entry into the labor force. Quitting and lay-offs cause relatively little youth unemployment. Much of the entry problem was the result of students seeking part-time or summer work and was not a

²⁴Hugh Folk, op. cit., p. 78.

TABLE 45

**ATTITUDES TOWARD HIRING VARIOUS AGE CATEGORIES
OF INDIVIDUALS BY SIZE OF FIRM**

Size of Firm	Response	Would You Hire People Between The Ages Of:					
		<u>14-22</u>	<u>23-31</u>	<u>32-40</u>	<u>41-49</u>	<u>50-58</u>	<u>59&Over</u>
0-5 Employees	Yes	487	641	620	559	470	407
6-15 Employees	Yes	169	206	192	171	134	94
16-35 Employees	Yes	52	55	52	50	41	31
Over 35 Employees	Yes	38	40	40	39	31	26

$$\chi^2 = 11.4508 \quad \text{d.f.} = 15 \quad P > .70$$

final commitment to the labor market.²⁵ Of all the males who leave school, seven-tenths of the high school dropouts, three-fourths of the high school graduates, and seven-eighths of the college dropouts found a job in less than five weeks during 1969.²⁶

The older worker, on the other hand, has far more difficulty. He is likely to see his debts increase, his savings depleted, and may find it necessary to cut down on such expenditures as food, clothing, house

²⁵ Ibid., p. 77.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

repairs, medical care, recreation, and transportation. Yet, people who are 59 and over will likely have more difficulty in finding a job or improving their economic position by securing a different job.

Experience does not seem to be an essential prerequisite for employment so again the older worker is disadvantaged. Table 46 shows that most employers do not consider experience in a job to be essential.

TABLE 46

JOB EXPERIENCE AND SIZE OF FIRM

Size of Firm	Employers' Response To "Would You Hire A Person With No Experience In The Job He Wanted?"		
	Yes	No	Total
0-5 Employees	545	155	700
6-15 Employees	190	29	219
16-35 Employees	52	5	57
Over 35 Employees	41	2	43
Total	828	191	1,019

$$\chi^2 = 18.9911 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P .001$$

When the relevant raw figures in Table 46 were converted to ratios, a trend similar to that noted earlier occurred. The larger firms tend to place more emphasis on experience. Earlier it was noted, larger firms tended to place more emphasis on age.

The emphasis upon experience is explicable in terms of business type. The largest employer of 35 or more people was the professional

category, hence the importance of training. There were five retail businesses, two wholesale firms, and two manufacturing firms in the five-county survey area which hired 35 or more people.

The trend reversed itself when a question which probed for ethnic discrimination was asked. Then, the small firms showed less favorable attitudes. Of the 684 firms in which five or less people worked, 582 indicated they would hire American Indians while 102 said they would not. The person responsible for the hiring policy in businesses which hired 35 or more people indicated in 41 of the 42 responses that they would hire American Indians. Attitudes toward hiring American Indians in terms of the number of people employed are summarized in Table 47.

TABLE 47

SIZE OF FIRM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD HIRING
AN INDIVIDUAL OF AN ETHNIC GROUP

Size of Firm	Responses to "Would You Hire American Indians?"		
	Yes	No	Total
0-5 Employees	582	102	684
6-15 Employees	197	18	215
16-35 Employees	56	2	58
Over 35 Employees	41	1	42
Total	876	123	999

$$\chi^2 = 15.4323 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad P > .001$$

Although the vast majority of employers would hire American Indians, those from larger firms were more favorably disposed to doing so. The ratio of 41 to 1 in favor of hiring American Indians illustrates this fact.

In an interviewing situation between job-seeker and employer, it is not advisable for the job-seeker to make intensive inquiries into matters dealing with the pay scale. To do so gives the employer the notion that the job-seeker is less interested in the job than he is in making money. Employers are of necessity interested in the job and the way in which employees enact their employee-role.

Table 48 shows there is a marked difference between Size of Firm and Starting Pay Scale.

TABLE 48
SIZE OF FIRM AND STARTING PAY SCALE

Size of Firm	Starting Pay Scale					Total
	0-.99	1.00-1.49	1.50-1.99	2.00-2.49	2.50 & Over	
0-5 Employees	273	122	65	97	0	557
6-15 Employees	59	47	26	76	0	208
16-35 Employees	9	9	13	24	0	55
Over 35	3	6	8	25	0	42
Total	344	184	112	222	0	862

$$\chi^2 = 95.9365 \quad \text{d.f.} = 12 \quad P = .001$$

The larger firms, in general, have a substantially higher Starting Pay Scale than do smaller firms. Starting Pay Scale clusters toward the 0-.99 category in firms which employ five or less people. In the larger firms the clustering occurs in the 2.00-2.49 range. More small firms pay between 0-.99 than the next two categories combined. It must be remembered, however, that there are more jobs available in the smaller firms.

Suffice it to mention that the untidy individual and the male with very long hair stand small chance of securing employment as does the individual of questionable honesty. Employers representing firms of all sizes, indicated they would not hire people in those three categories. Of a total of 1,024 respondents, 851 said "No" to hiring a male with very long hair, 948 said "No" to hiring an untidy person, and 966 said "No" to hiring a person of questionable honesty.

Table 49 presents responses to the question, "How important do you consider personality traits such as neatness and honesty?"

An interesting result occurred in Table 49. The larger firms had more liberal attitudes toward neatness and honesty. When it is recalled that this same category of firms placed more emphasis on the age of the job-seeker and were less inclined to consider ethnicity and experience, it becomes confusing. Ordinarily, age and experience run tantamount. The analytical distinction between the two appears to have an empirical foundation, i.e., age and experience may not run hand in hand.

TABLE 49

IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED PERSONALITY
TRAITS BY SIZE OF FIRM

Size of Firm	Absolutely Necessary	Desired	Not Important	Total
0-5 Employees	664	72	4	740
6-15 Employees	2	195	29	226
16-35 Employees	0	45	13	58
Over 35 Employees	<u>0</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>43</u>
Total	666	344	57	1,067

$$\chi^2 = 790.6143 \quad \text{d.f.} = 6 \quad P .001$$

In firms which employed between 0 and 5 people, 664 employers said Personality Traits were absolutely necessary, 72 indicated they were desired, and four said they were not important. In one of the medium categories, firms which employ between 6 and 15 persons, only two respondents felt personality traits were absolutely necessary. The greatest number, 195, thought they were desired.

In firms which employed more people, personality traits were not absolutely necessary to any of the employers. Almost one-third of those employers found them to be of no importance.

This could be construed to mean that the increase in size of a firm with an accompanying division of labor provides a greater variety of jobs. Personality traits become decreasingly important and there is

more tolerance of individual idiosyncracies with the exception of the three characteristics mentioned earlier.

An examination of the needs of employers in terms of the size of the business showed that the number of people employed does not necessarily exert influence in all areas of hiring policy. The type of business could also be important to the job-hunter. Table 50 shows the importance of education to entry in six types of businesses.

To the job-seeker with a minimal amount of schooling the chances of getting a job in the professionally oriented firm are slim. His

TABLE 50

TYPE OF BUSINESS AND IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO SCHOOLING

Type of Business	Response to "Would You Hire People With Only An 8th Grade Education?"		
	Yes	No	Total
Retail	364	64	428
Wholesale	28	3	31
Manufacturing	19	3	22
Professional	32	37	69
Construction	38	1	39
Service	294	97	391
Total	775	205	980

$$\chi^2 = 68.4113 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5 \quad P = .001$$

chances are better in wholesale firms or in manufacturing. Both of these types of businesses showed more favorable attitudes toward hiring an individual with only an eighth grade education. The ratio

of "Yes" to "No" responses was not as favorable in the retail and service firms, but far more jobs are available in that area. The ratio of responses was most favorable to the individual with only an eighth grade education in construction. In that category 38 employers indicated they would hire a person with limited schooling while only one employer said he would not.

Although formal academic education was deemed important in the professional firms, experience was of less consequence. Table 51 shows the emphasis placed on experience by employers in various types of businesses.

TABLE 51

TYPE OF BUSINESS AND THE IMPORTANCE
OF JOB EXPERIENCE

Type of Business	Responses to "Would You Hire A Person With No Experience In The Job He Wants?"		
	Yes	No	Total
Retail	374	53	427
Wholesale	26	5	31
Manufacturing	17	5	22
Professional	52	19	71
Construction	32	7	39
Service	300	95	395
Total	801	184	985

$$\chi^2 = 21.9787 \quad d.f. = 5 \quad P = .001$$

Professional firms were found to be most selective in terms of the emphasis placed on education, but not as selective in reference to experience in a job. Of the 71 responses to the question, "Would you hire a person with no experience in the job he wants?" 52 were affirmative and 19 were negative.

Experience was found to be the least important in the retail businesses. In this group 374 persons said they would hire a job-seeker with no specific job experience while 53 were unwilling to do so. It was not of overriding importance in the Wholesale category nor the Construction, but was of some importance in Service industries.

The findings related to Business Type and hiring policy were somewhat mixed. There was little clear-cut evidence to support the contention that education or experience were determining factors whether a person would be hired or not. All firms, in varying degrees, could accommodate either minimally educated or minimally experienced job-hunters. The same was not true for personality traits. In only four instances out of 1,030 responses did employers indicate neatness and honesty were not important.

An important aspect of such programs as Manpower Training and Area Redevelopment is to encourage the unemployed or underemployed to receive training in specific job skills or to provide a means to allow them to receive further schooling. Perhaps more resources should be directed toward programs aimed at the development of traits which are commensurate with employers' perceived needs. The importance of these traits can be seen in Table 52.

TABLE 52

TYPE OF BUSINESS AND IMPORTANCE PLACED
ON PERSONALITY TRAITS

Type of Business	Response to "How Important Do You Consider Personality Traits . . .?"			Total
	Absolutely Necessary	Desired	Not Important	
Retail	404	44	3	451
Wholesale	22	10	0	32
Manufacturing	16	6	0	22
Professional	65	5	0	70
Construction	27	10	0	37
Service	<u>376</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>418</u>
Total	910	116	4	1,030

$$\chi^2 = 32.2894 \quad \text{d.f.} = 10 \quad P .001$$

Even a cursory examination of Table 52 points up the importance of those traits referred to as personality traits. In nearly 90 per cent of the cases, personality traits were deemed absolutely necessary. Four employers thought they were not important. Those employers who said these traits were not important accounted for a very small per cent of the total responses.

Table 53 verified the point made above by directly asking the employer, "Would you hire a person of questionable honesty?"

TABLE 53

TYPE OF BUSINESS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD DISHONESTY

Type of Business	Responses to "Would You Hire A Person Of Questionable Honesty?"		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Retail	22	422	444
Wholesale	1	30	31
Manufacturing	2	20	22
Professional	3	67	70
Construction	5	30	35
Service	<u>30</u>	<u>369</u>	<u>399</u>
Total	63	938	1,001

$$\chi^2 = 7.4204 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5 \quad P .10$$

Obviously, honesty is an important prerequisite. In retail businesses in which the employee may have access to the employer's money, the justification for using honesty as a criterion for hiring policy is self-evident. It is less apparent in construction and manufacturing, but was still considered highly important by the employer. Perhaps it is felt that a person of questionable honesty is unreliable in terms of his work-role or might cheat in other areas. Regardless of the reason, employers in all types of business showed

they would not hire a person of questionable honesty in the largest majority of cases.

The second component of Table 52, neatness, also seemed to be a prerequisite for hiring job-seekers. The responses of employers indicate its importance as can be seen in Table 54.

TABLE 54

TYPE OF BUSINESS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD
HIRING A PERSON WHO IS UNTIDY

Type of Business	Responses to "Would You Hire A Person Who Is Untidy?"		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Retail	28	408	436
Wholesale	3	208	211
Manufacturing	3	18	21
Professional	3	67	70
Construction	7	27	34
Service	<u>28</u>	<u>371</u>	<u>399</u>
Total	72	1,099	1,171

$$\chi^2 = 23.8637 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5 \quad P < .001$$

Although there were less unfavorable attitudes toward an untidy person than a person of questionable honesty, most employers would not consider a candidate for employment who was untidy. Only 72 of the

1,171 respondents from various businesses who were questioned as to their hiring policy with reference to an untidy person said they would hire him.

This section of the thesis, which attempted to point up factors businessmen felt were important attributes in the prospective employee, would seem to illustrate the importance of such factors as neatness and honesty. On the other hand, experience and education were not generally found to be as important as conventional wisdom would indicate.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This section of the dissertation is divided into two parts:

(1) descriptive and (2) analytical. The descriptive component is oriented toward a summary of the demographic aspects of the employers and businesses in the survey area. The analytical component focuses on the differences or lack of differences between the dependent and independent variables which have been analyzed.

Descriptive--Most of the employers were between the ages of 46 and 50, were males, and lived in a community with a population size of 250-2,499. The primary employers of people were retail businesses followed by the service category. The size of the firms in the survey area were relatively stable, being largely uninfluenced by seasonal fluctuations. The starting pay scale was found to be most often between \$1.00 and \$1.49 and the highest pay scale was most frequently from \$1.50 to \$1.99. A paid vacation was offered by more than one-half of the firms as a fringe benefit. Sick leave, health insurance, and discounts were given by many businesses. While slightly more than 79 per cent of the employers indicated they did not plan on adding more employees to their labor force, 50.22 per cent had people ask

them for employment. In terms of the distribution of employers who utilize part-time employees 463 employers had between 0-10% of their work force on a part-time basis while 441 had over 30% of their workers on a part-time basis. The lowest starting pay scale was found in retail and service firms as was the lower end of the highest pay rate. More than 84 per cent of the employers questioned indicated personality traits such as neatness and honesty were absolutely necessary while less than four per cent said these traits were not important.

In order of their importance to employers the skills employees needed to have were: sales, secretarial, merchandising, electrical, culinary, carpentry, plumbing, masonry, and electronical. Only 4.28% of the employers mentioned that no skills were necessary.

The main reason employers terminated employment for their employees was lack of competence followed closely by personality traits.

Analytical--An analysis of employers' perceptions of the importance of personality traits showed that such traits as neatness and honesty are deemed more essential than specific skills or formal academic education. Employers of all ages and either sex showed unfavorable attitudes toward individuals who would not be likely to sustain their self identity.

Research hypothesis B, age-role forms, shapes, and patterns the attitude and hiring policy of the employer, was based upon the contention that the age of an employer determines his role. Testing yielded mixed results in that statistically significant differences were found between the age groups of employers and ten of the dependent variables.

In general the hypotheses of this study were not supported so that it cannot be maintained that age-role, sex-role, or place of residence determine an employer's attitude toward hiring various categories of people. The social role prescribed by an individual's age or sex was found to be largely subservient to his employer-role. So, too, with the social role which may arise as a result of place of residence.

Other findings of an analytical nature pointed up similar patterns of response. Employers were not desirous of hiring a male with very long hair, a person who is untidy, or a person of questionable honesty.

Larger firms were more concerned with the prospective employee's age. Job seekers who are 59 years old or older are at a disadvantage regardless of the size of the firm. The age group which was seen as the most desirable was the 23 to 31 category.

Physically handicapped people, persons with a minimal amount of schooling, individuals with a lack of job experience, and those

job-seekers representative of an ethnic minority hold a more favorable position relative to employers' hiring policies than does a male with very long hair, a person who is untidy, or a person of questionable honesty.

Conclusions and Implications

On the basis of the foregoing analysis it may be concluded that there is a relatively stable pattern of attitudes toward certain categories of people insofar as employers are concerned. This is independent of the age, sex, or place of residence of the employer. These attitudes must be taken into consideration if any inroads are going to be made into the alleviation of either unemployment or underemployment in rural areas. The importance of personal characteristics are of overriding importance.

Possibly the most serious fault in training and retraining programs is that they have largely overlooked the importance attached to factors other than specific job skills. Another important deficiency is that job-seekers are being trained in skills which have little or no market value. Existing employers' needs are not being met by the infusion of massive sums of monies into programs designed to equip the unemployed with skills of questionable value, nor are the needs of those who would better their socio-economic position by securing more meaningful employment.

If the private sector of the economy is to place reliance upon governmental training programs it would appear that public policy would call for more effective measurements of employers' needs in order to assure that these needs are considered while abuses are minimized.

Training programs, no matter how efficiently organized and managed, cannot create enough jobs. They can contribute little to the expansion of employment or the provision of jobs when there is inadequate demand for manpower while large proportions of job-seekers are inadequately prepared for existing job openings.

At present, labor is seemingly a buyer's market so that ultimately the final responsibility for acquiring meaningful work must rest with the job-seeker himself. If work is important to him and if he sees a relationship between the culturally defined goals and work as an institutionalized means of attainment he must start with developing personal qualities consistent with employers' needs.

Admittedly, unemployment may emanate from the social structure but its resolution can focus on the individual level. This is especially true of frictional unemployment. The employer is necessarily motivated by the maximization of profit if his business is to remain viable. If he sees in a job-seeker qualities which might tend to decrease his goal he is partially justified, from

the standpoint of rational-efficiency, in refusing that job-seeker employment. Moreover, he is likely to do so regardless of how attractive credentials might be in reference to experience, skill, education, or training.

A better educated and trained person by himself is not going to mitigate unemployment even though continued education and training are becoming increasingly more essential. A different combination of approaches will be required to absorb new entries into the labor force in years to come which must receive its initiative from the worker.

Limitations of the Study

A limitation of this study was the lack of replies relative to the amount of income of the business or employer. This information would have been valuable in determining a number of things. The respondents were understandably reluctant in giving that information. Because this study was undertaken primarily for the practical purposes of an action agency much of theoretical consequence was necessarily deleted. More questions might have otherwise been asked which could have empirically tested theory or gained more demographic information about employers.

Only limited generalizations can be drawn beyond the sample area, yet this is also a major strength. A massive amount of

literature has been amassed which deals with the exigency of urban unemployment but scarcely nothing exists for the rural area. There is a dearth of available literature dealing with rural unemployment.

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Date _____

Interviewer _____

EMPLOYEE SURVEY FOR EMPLOYERS
 BY MANPOWER CONSULTING ACTION, INC.

The information gathered in this survey is part of a study being done by Manpower Consulting Action Program in order to accurately assess the needs of employers in this area. Your cooperation is essential and will enable people to be placed to fill your need for good workers.

All information will be kept entirely confidential. This study is only connected with the needs and characteristics of employers in general.

Respondent's Name _____

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____

3. Place of residence: Rural / Urban _____
 Rural pop. less than 250 _____
 250-2,499 _____
 over 2,500 _____

APPENDIX A

4. Do you own or rent your home? Own _____ Rent _____

5. Name of firm _____

6. Location of firm _____

7. Type of business: Retail _____
 Wholesale _____
 Manufacturing _____
 Transportation _____
 Construction _____
 Service _____

8. How many people do you employ? ☐ actual number
☐ 1-5
☐ 6-15
☐ 16-35
☐ Over 35

9. What percentage are part-time employees? ☐ 0-10%
☐ 11-20%
☐ 21-30%
☐ Over 30%

Date _____ Interviewer _____

MANPOWER SURVEY FOR EMPLOYERS
INTER-LAKES COMMUNITY ACTION, INC.

The information gathered in this survey is part of a study being done by the Community Action Program in order to accurately assess the needs of employers in this area. Your cooperation is essential and will enable people to be trained to fill your need for good workers.

All information will be kept entirely confidential. This study is only concerned with the needs and characteristics of employers in general.

Respondent's Name _____

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____
3. Place of residence: Rural farm _____
Rural non-farm, under 249 _____
250-2499 _____
over 2,500 _____
4. Do you own or rent your home? Own _____ Rent _____
5. Name of firm _____
6. Location of firm _____
7. Type of business: Retail _____
Wholesale _____
Manufacturing _____
Professional _____
Construction _____
Service _____
8. How many people do you employ? (_____ actual number)
_____ 0-5
_____ 6-15
_____ 16-35
_____ Over 35
9. What percentage are part-time employees? _____ 0-10%
_____ 11-20%
_____ 21-30%
_____ Over 30%
10. Could you employ more people? Yes _____ No _____

11. How many of your employees hold more than one job? _____

12. During what season do you employ the most people?

Spring _____

Summer _____

Fall _____

Winter _____

Year round _____

13. What is the starting pay scale per hour?

0-.99 per hour _____

1.00-1.49 _____

1.50-1.99 _____

2.00-2.49 _____

2.50 and over _____

14. What is the highest pay scale?

1.50-1.99 _____

2.00-2.49 _____

2.50-2.99 _____

3.00 and over _____

15. Which of the following fringe benefits do you offer?

Paid vacation _____

Sick leave _____

Health insurance _____

Retirement plan _____

Company stock plan _____

Overtime _____

Discounts _____

None _____

16. Could your business afford to pay higher wages? Yes _____ No _____

17. How many people ask for a job in a month?

None _____

1-5 _____

5 and Over _____

18. Which of the following skills do your employees need to have?

Masonry _____
 Plumbing _____
 Electrical _____
 Carpentry _____
 Mechanical _____
 Merchandising: service and delivery _____
 Secretarial--clerical _____
 Sales _____
 Culinary _____
 Electronical service (radio-TV) _____
 None _____

19. How important do you consider personality traits such as neatness and honesty?

Absolutely necessary _____
 Desired _____
 Not important _____

20. Do you plan on adding more full-time employees to your payroll during 1970?

Yes _____ No _____

21. Do you feel that any of the following types of businesses are needed in this community?

Retail _____
 Wholesale _____
 Manufacturing _____
 Professional _____
 Construction _____
 Service _____
 None _____

22. Did you terminate employment for any employees during 1969?

Yes _____ No _____

23. If yes (to #22), for which of these reasons?

Employee's personality traits _____

Lack of competence _____

Decrease of business _____

Seasonal fluctuation _____

24. Would you hire:

People between 14-22 years old? Yes _____ No _____

23-31 Yes _____ No _____

32-40 Yes _____ No _____

41-49 Yes _____ No _____

50-58 Yes _____ No _____

59 and Over Yes _____ No _____

American Indians? Yes _____ No _____

People with only 8th grade education? Yes _____ No _____

A person with no experience in the job he wants? Yes _____ No _____

An on-the-job training employee? Yes _____ No _____

A person who is untidy? Yes _____ No _____

A male with very long hair? Yes _____ No _____

A person of questionable honesty? Yes _____ No _____

A physically handicapped person? Yes _____ No _____

25. When you need new employees, which of the following do you use?

State Employment Agency _____

Private Employment Agency _____

None _____

26. How many people would you say are unemployed in this community?

Number _____

Don't know _____

27. What do you feel are the reasons for these people being unemployed?

Personal _____

Lack of skills _____

Lack of jobs _____

28. Are you familiar with the Manpower Training-Retraining Program?

Yes _____ No _____

29. Have you ever hired a person who has been trained or retrained through a Manpower Retraining Program? Yes _____ No _____

30. If yes, was he a satisfactory employee? Yes _____ No _____

31. If not, was the reason

Personal traits _____

Lack of competence _____

32. Would you as an employer assist the Community Action Program in Manpower Training Programs, if needed? Yes _____ No _____

33. What was your net business profit in 1969?

0-2,999 _____

3,000-5,999 _____

6,000-8,999 _____

9,000-11,999 _____

12,000-14,999 _____

15,000-over _____

34. Remarks:

I. FIVE QUANTILE TOTALS

(Questions are answered by number and percentile.)

1. Age of the Business Owner or Manager:

20 & under	0	.0015
21-25	21	.0235
26-30	34	.0481
31-35	72	.0962
36-40	96	.0674
41-45	134	.1231
46-50	133	.1332
51-55	114	.1015
56-60	103	.0939
61-65	80	.0713
66 and Over	52	.0465
No Response	274	.1998

2. Sex of the Business Owner or Manager:

No Response	13	.0115
Male	547	.8403
Female	109	.1077

APPENDIX B

3. Place of Residence of the Business Owner or Manager:

Rural Farm	72	.0647
Rural Farm,		
population under 257-136		.1713
250-2,509 643		.5989
over 2500 424		.3782
No Response	88	.0342

4. Do you own or rent your home?

No Response	74	.0683
Rent	129	.1307
Own	314	.7793

5. Type of business:

Retail	401	.4112
Wholesale	31	.0794
Manufacturing	22	.0196
Professional	24	.0630
Construction	40	.0334
Service	423	.3842
No Response	70	.0317

I. FIVE COUNTY TOTALS

(Questions are answered by number and percentile.)

1. Age of the Business Owner or Manager:

20 & under	6	.0053
21-25	23	.0205
26-30	54	.0481
31-35	72	.0642
36-40	98	.0874
41-45	138	.1231
46-50	155	.1382
51-55	114	.1016
56-60	105	.0936
61-65	80	.0713
65 and Over	52	.0463
No Response	224	.1998

2. Sex of the Business Owner or Manager:

No Response	13	.0115
Male	942	.8403
Female	166	.1480

3. Place of Residence of the Business Owner or Manager:

Rural Farm	72	.0642
Rural Farm,		
population under 249	136	.1213
250-2,499	445	.3969
over 2500	424	.3782
No Response	44	.0392

4. Do you own or rent your home?

No Response	78	.0695
Rent	169	.1507
Own	874	.7796

5. Type of business:

Retail	461	.4112
Wholesale	33	.0294
Manufacturing	22	.0196
Professional	74	.0660
Construction	40	.0356
Service	433	.3862
No Response	58	.0517

6. How many people do you employ?

0-5	759	.6770
6-15	226	.2016
16-35	58	.0517
Over 35	43	.0383
No Response	35	.0312

7. What percentage are part-time employees?

0-10%	463
11-20%	63
21-30%	68
Over 30%	441
No Response	85

8. Could you employ more people?

Yes	282	.2515
No	795	.7091
No Response	44	.0392

9. How many of your employees hold more than one job?

Information not available.

10. During what season do you employ the most people?

Spring	53	.0472
Summer	167	.1489
Fall	57	.0508
Winter	74	.0660
Year Round	721	.6431
No Response	49	.0437

11. What is the starting pay scale per hour?

0 - .99	46	.0410
1.00 - 1.49	421	.3755
1.50 - 1.99	376	.3354
2.00 - 2.49	75	.0669
2.50 & Over	40	.0356
No Response	163	.1454

12. What is the highest pay scale?

1.50 - 1.99	347	.3095
2.00 - 2.49	187	.1668
2.50 - 2.99	113	.1008
3.00 & Over	222	.1980
No Response	252	.2247

13. Which of the following fringe benefits do you offer?

Paid vacation	585	.5218
Sick leave	434	.3871
Health insurance	393	.3505
Retirement plan	200	.1784
Company stock	48	.0428
Overtime	298	.2658
Discounts	379	.3380
None	221	.1971

14. Could your business afford to pay higher wages?

Yes	182	.1623
No	805	.7181
No Response	134	.1195

15. How many people ask for a job in a month?

None	483	.4308
1-5	516	.4603
5 & Over	47	.0419
No Response	75	.0669

16. Which of the following skills do your employees need to have?

Masonry	36	.0321
Plumbing	85	.0758
Electrical	131	.1168
Carpentry	90	.0802
Mechanical	388	.3461
Merchandising	437	.3898
Secretarial	481	.4290
Sales	577	.5147
Culinary	129	.1150
Electronical	21	.0187
None	48	.0428

17. How important do you consider personality traits such as neatness and honesty?

Absolutely necessary	946	.8438
Desired	127	.1132
Not important	4	.0035
No Response	44	.0392

18. Do you plan on adding more full-time employees to your payroll in 1970?

Yes	219	.1953
No	847	.7555
No Response	55	.0490

19. Do you feel that any of the following types of businesses are needed in this community?

Retail	555	.4950
Wholesale	402	.3586
Manufacturing	868	.7743
Professional	594	.5298
Construction	509	.4540
Service	683	.6092
None	36	.0321

20. Did you terminate employment for any employees during 1969?

Yes	155	.1382
No	912	.8135
No Response	54	.0481

21. If yes, for which of these reasons?

Personality traits	54	.3483
Lack of competence	61	.3935
Decrease of business	18	.1161
Seasonal fluctuation	52	.3354

22. Would you hire:

	Yes	No
People between 14 - 22 years old?	750	181
23 - 31	948	44
32 - 40	913	50
41 - 49	824	97
50 - 58	678	195
59 and Over	560	281
American Indians?	886	125
People with only 8th grade education?	815	210
A person with no experience in the job he wants?	836	193
An on-the-job training employee?	709	291
A person who is untidy?	77	960
A male with very long hair?	175	859
A person of questionable honesty?	69	978
A physically handicapped person?	834	200

23. When you need employees, which of the following do you use?

State employment agency	258	.2301
Private employment agency	38	.0338
None	774	.6904
No Response	51	.0454

24. How many people would you say are unemployed in this community?

Businessmen gave estimate	266
Businessmen didn't know	775

25. What do you feel are the reasons for these people being unemployed?

Personal	611
Lack of skills	356
Lack of jobs	469

26. Are you familiar with the manpower training-retraining program?

Yes	285
No	760

27. Have you ever hired a person who has been trained or retrained through a manpower retraining program?

Yes	45
No	957

28. If yes, was he a satisfactory employee?

Yes	31
No	22

29. If not, was the reason

Personal traits	5
Lack of competence	6

30. Would you as an employer assist the Community Action Program in Manpower Training Programs if needed?

Yes	727	.6485
No	241	.2149
No Response	153	.1364

31. What was your net business profit in 1969?

0-2,999	72
3-5,999	72
6-8,999	63
9-11,999	23
12-14,999	14
15 & Over	52
No Response	825

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1. Number of employees:							
0-5	27	305	24	13	50	24	313
6-15	13	179	6	9	11	9	66
16-35	3	17	1	0	3	3	27
Over 35	3	3	3	2	7	9	22
2. % of part-time employees:							
0-10%	14	156	19	7	40	17	177
11-20%	5	29	2	0	9	1	17
21-30%	1	32	1	2	1	2	20
Over 30%	17	183	8	9	18	15	197
3. Could you employ more people?							
Yes	9	117	7	10	13	23	101
No	38	333	23	12	37	13	313
4. Seasonal employment:							
Spring	0	33	4	0	1	1	17
Summer	0	70	3	0	2	19	36
Fall	3	41	3	1	0	1	11
Winter	3	41	3	0	3	0	24
Year Round	32	297	15	14	59	18	311
5. Starting pay scales:							
0-.99	1	31	2	1	1	0	10
1.00-1.49	14	123	9	7	22	3	139
1.50-1.99	10	138	13	11	23	10	135
2.00-2.49	3	42	4	3	4	12	38
2.50 & Over	2	4	0	0	1	4	19
6. Highest pay scales:							
1.50-1.99	13	182	6	1	13	6	120
2.00-2.49	7	81	4	3	12	2	67
2.50-2.99	3	42	3	0	9	4	42
3.00 & Over	3	98	4	0	13	19	100
7. Fringe benefits:							
Paid vacation	29	391	21	13	42	14	214
Sick leave	26	171	17	0	33	8	122
Health insurance	22	198	19	0	25	13	153
Retirement plan	10	17	0	2	13	0	110
Stock	1	21	0	0	4	1	15
Overtime	14	132	10	12	23	20	87
Discounts	6	219	19	0	19	7	103
None	9	101	1	4	3	9	91

APPENDIX C

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>NoR</u>	<u>Ret</u>	<u>Whls</u>	<u>Mfg</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Serv</u>
1. Number of employees:							
0-5	27	308	24	13	50	24	313
6-15	11	119	6	6	11	9	64
16-35	3	17	1	0	5	5	27
Over 35	5	5	2	2	7	0	22
2. % of part-time employees:							
0-10%	14	189	19	7	40	17	177
11-20%	5	29	2	0	9	1	17
21-30%	1	32	1	2	4	2	26
Over 30%	17	189	9	9	16	16	185
3. Could you employ more people?							
Yes	9	117	7	10	15	23	101
No	38	333	25	12	57	15	315
4. Seasonal employment:							
Spring	0	33	4	0	2	1	13
Summer	6	70	5	6	2	19	59
Fall	3	35	5	2	0	1	11
Winter	3	41	3	0	3	0	24
Year Round	32	272	15	14	59	18	311
5. Starting pay scale:							
0-.99	1	31	2	1	1	0	10
1.00-1.49	16	223	9	7	22	5	139
1.50-1.99	16	158	15	11	25	16	135
2.00-2.49	2	12	4	3	4	12	38
2.50 & Over	2	4	0	0	1	4	29
6. Highest pay scale:							
1.50-1.99	13	181	9	5	13	6	120
2.00-2.49	7	81	8	3	13	8	67
2.50-2.99	6	43	3	6	9	4	42
3.00 & Over	6	68	8	6	15	19	100
7. Fringe benefits:							
Paid vacation	29	251	23	10	42	16	214
Sick leave	26	173	17	4	33	9	172
Health insurance	22	156	19	8	20	15	153
Retirement plan	10	57	6	2	15	0	110
Stock	1	22	5	0	4	1	15
Overtime	14	132	10	12	23	20	87
Discounts	6	219	19	9	19	7	100
None	9	102	1	4	5	9	91

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>NoR</u>	<u>Ret</u>	<u>Whls</u>	<u>Mfg</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Serv</u>
8. Afford to pay higher wages:							
Yes	6	69	6	6	15	8	72
No	34	363	25	16	45	23	299
9. # asking for jobs:							
None	21	190	11	8	39	9	205
1-5	20	235	19	12	30	21	179
Over 5	4	20	2	2	0	2	17
10. Skills needed:							
Masonry	1	9	1	3	2	15	5
Plumbing	8	31	3	2	7	6	28
Electrical	10	57	6	4	4	8	42
Carpentry	6	34	4	3	5	20	18
Mechanical	23	162	20	16	9	23	135
Merchandising	10	297	21	6	9	4	92
Secretarial	20	179	17	9	52	4	200
Sales	15	377	22	8	12	3	140
Culinary	7	51	1	0	9	0	61
Electronical	1	15	0	0	0	1	4
None	1	10	1	1	3	0	32
11. Importance of per- sonal traits:							
Absolutely necessary	36	404	22	16	65	27	376
Desired	11	44	10	6	5	10	41
Not important	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
12. Plan on adding full time employees:							
Yes	7	89	6	12	13	21	71
No	38	355	26	9	56	18	343
13. Types of businesses needed:							
Retail	19	240	15	12	40	19	210
Wholesale	14	160	11	8	26	17	166
Manufacturing	30	358	29	18	56	43	344
Professional	23	236	21	14	38	21	241
Construction	19	242	14	12	33	19	170
Service	24	276	18	13	46	26	250
None	4	16	1	1	2	1	11

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>NoR</u>	<u>Ret</u>	<u>Whls</u>	<u>Mfg</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Serv</u>
14. Did you terminate employment:							
Yes	4	57	6	5	9	15	59
No	42	390	26	17	61	24	352
15. Reasons for terminating:							
Personal traits	1	20	1	2	4	3	23
Competence	3	18	1	0	7	4	28
Decrease bus.	0	8	0	1	1	0	8
Seasonal fluctuation	3	18	4	0	1	13	13
16. Would you hire:							
16-22 yrs.							
Yes	29	321	24	17	48	26	285
No	5	68	7	0	16	7	78
23-31 yrs.							
Yes	39	389	30	21	67	39	363
No	1	24	1	0	2	0	16
32-40 yrs.							
Yes	31	379	30	19	67	37	350
No	0	26	1	0	0	1	22
41-49 yrs.							
Yes	30	341	29	18	56	32	318
No	2	43	1	0	7	4	40
50-58 yrs.							
Yes	28	271	25	17	44	1	273
No	4	88	4	0	16	9	74
59 & Over							
Yes	21	220	19	14	39	17	230
No	7	124	8	2	18	12	110
Indians							
Yes	34	353	27	20	57	35	360
No	8	71	4	2	12	3	25
8th Gr. Ed.							
Yes	40	364	20	19	32	38	294
No	5	64	3	3	37	1	97
No experience							
Yes	35	374	26	17	52	32	300
No	9	53	5	5	19	7	95
OJT emp.							
Yes	22	321	24	17	53	33	239
No	18	106	7	3	18	4	135

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>NoR</u>	<u>Ret</u>	<u>Whls</u>	<u>Mfg</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Serv</u>
Untidy							
Yes	5	28	3	3	3	7	28
No	41	408	28	18	67	27	370
Long hair							
Yes	12	55	2	5	8	10	83
No	31	382	29	17	62	25	313
Honesty							
Yes	6	22	1	2	3	5	30
No	40	422	30	29	67	30	369
Handicapped							
Yes	33	341	26	15	64	26	329
No	12	99	3	6	7	9	64
17. Do you use:							
State Emp. Serv.	7	104	14	7	20	13	93
Priv. Emp. Serv.	1	18	0	0	4	0	15
None	38	336	18	15	47	21	299
18. # of unemployed:							
Number	3	119	12	9	25	6	102
No answer	41	324	19	12	55	27	297
19. Reasons for unemployment:							
Personal	25	289	16	14	44	18	205
Lack skills	22	151	9	3	27	12	132
Lack jobs	24	176	16	8	28	15	202
20. Familiar with Manpower Training Program:							
Yes	10	114	9	2	23	10	117
No	35	328	22	20	46	24	285
21. Have you hired an QJT employee:							
Yes	2	25	1	1	1	1	12
No	39	397	28	21	65	30	377
22. Was the QJT employee satisfactory:							
Yes	1	19	1	1	1	1	7
No	1	9	0	0	3	2	7

<u>TYPE OF BUSINESS:</u>	<u>NoR</u>	<u>Ret</u>	<u>Whls</u>	<u>Mfg</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Serv</u>
23. If not, reason:							
Personal traits	0	3	0	0	0	1	1
Lack competence	0	1	0	0	1	2	2
24. Would you assist							
Community Action:							
Yes	23	329	25	15	52	26	257
No	20	94	4	6	15	3	99
25. Net Profit:							
0-2,999	1	43	0	1	6	1	20
3-5,999	0	38	2	0	4	3	25
6-8,999	0	31	3	1	6	2	20
9-11,999	1	14	0	0	2	1	5
12-14,999	0	8	0	1	1	0	4
15 & Over	1	24	5	3	7	0	12

APPENDIX B

PLAN TO ADJUST YOUR FIRM'S EMPLOYMENT

1. Type of business:	Detail	89
	Wholesale	4
	Manufacturing	12
	Professional	13
	Construction	11
	Service	75
2. How many employees:	0-5	113
	6-15	74
	16-25	23
	Over 25	17
3. What season do you employ the most people?	Spring	13
	Summer	47
	Fall	13
	Winter	14
	Year Round	125
4. Starting pay scales:	0- .75	3
	.75-1.00	36
	1.00-1.25	110
	1.25-1.50	21
	1.50 & Over	6
5. Highest pay scales:	1.00-1.25	31
	1.25-1.50	41
	1.50-2.00	30
	2.00 & Over	19
6. Fringe benefits:	Vacation	141
	Sick leave	103
	Health Insurance	103
	Retirement	39
	Company stock	13
	Over time	92
	Classified	68
	None	23
7. Can you afford to pay higher wages?	Yes	34
	No	123

APPENDIX D

PLAN ON ADDING MORE FULL TIME EMPLOYEES

1. Type of business:	Retail	89
	Wholesale	6
	Manufacturing	12
	Professional	13
	Construction	21
	Service	71
2. How many employees:	0-5	113
	6-15	66
	16-35	21
	Over 35	17
3. What season do you employ the most people:	Spring	13
	Summer	47
	Fall	15
	Winter	16
	Year Round	124
4. Starting pay scale:	0- .99	3
	1.00-1.49	64
	1.50-1.99	110
	2.00-2.49	21
	2.50 & Over	6
5. Highest pay scale:	1.50-1.99	51
	2.00-2.49	41
	2.50-2.99	30
	3.00 & Over	74
6. Fringe benefits:	Vacation	143
	Sick leave	105
	Health insurance	105
	Retirement	39
	Company stock	15
	Overtime	92
	Discounts	88
	None	25
7. Can you afford to pay higher wages?		
	Yes	54
	No	122

8. Employees need the following skills:

Masonry	18
Plumbing	23
Electrical	42
Carpentry	34
Mechanical	113
Merchandising	96
Secretarial	104
Sales	131
Culinary	21
Electronical	10
None	4

9. How important do you consider personality traits:

Absolutely necessary	189
Desired	28
Not important	0

10. Did you terminate employment: Yes 62
No 152

Reasons: Personality traits	22
Lack of competence	28
Decrease of business	2
Seasonal fluctuation	27

11. Would you hire: 16-22 yrs.

Yes	156
No	29
23-31	
Yes	208
No	4
32-40	
Yes	188
No	10
41-49	
Yes	170
No	17
50-58	
Yes	134
No	37
59 & Over	
Yes	99
No	62
Indians	
Yes	188
No	22

11. 8th Grade Ed.		
	Yes	175
	No	39
12. No experience		
	Yes	169
	No	43
13. On-job trainee		
	Yes	172
	No	33
14. Untidy		
	Yes	16
	No	192
15. Long hair		
	Yes	46
	No	165
16. Questionable honesty		
	Yes	12
	No	202
17. Physically handi- capped		
	Yes	169
	No	40
12. Use: State Employment Agency		86
	Private Employment Agency	11
	None	121
13. Reasons for unemployment:		
	Personal	136
	Lack of skills	88
	Lack of jobs	90
14. Familiar with Manpower Training Program		
	Yes	70
	No	140
15. Have you hired persons under this program?		
	Yes	17
	No	186
16. If yes, was he satisfactory employee?		
	Yes	10
	No	7
17. Reasons for firing:		
	Personal	4
	Lack competence	2

18. Would assist C.A.P. in manpower training:

Yes	165
No	32

19. Categories of profit:

00-2,999	8
3,000-5,999	11
6,000-8,999	10
9,000-11,999	6
12,000-14,999	4
15,000-	22